

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>



## Social-psychology Profile of Terrorist Leaders in Israeli Prisons

Yehoshua, Sagit

*Awarding institution:*  
King's College London

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

### END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT



**Unless another licence is stated on the immediately following page** this work is licensed

under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International

licence. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

You are free to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact [librarypure@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:librarypure@kcl.ac.uk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

This electronic theses or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>



**Title:** Social-psychology Profile of Terrorist Leaders in Israeli Prisons

**Author:** Sagit Yehoshua

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

#### END USER LICENSE AGREEMENT



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

You are free to:

- Share: to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

#### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact [librarypure@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:librarypure@kcl.ac.uk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

# **Social-psychology Profile of Terrorist Leaders in Israeli Prisons**

**Sagit Yehoshua**

**Department of War Studies**

**King's College London**

**Thesis submitted to King's College London**

**for the degree of Doctor of philosophy**

**January, 2013**

## Table of contents

<b><u>Title</u></b>	<b><u>Pages</u></b>
<i>Abstract</i>	4-5
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	6-7
Chapter 1: Introduction and literature review	8-124
Chapter 2: Methodology	125-139
Chapter 3: Results - Social influence factors	140-163
Chapter 4: Results - Personality Profile	164-206
Chapter 5: Results - Mind-set	207-226
Chapter 6: Results - Leadership profile	227-254
Chapter 7: Results - Imprisonment	255-280
Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions	281-299
<i>Bibliography</i>	300-344
<b><u>Appendices-</u></b>	
<i>Appendix 1-</i> Ethical approval document- Bar-Ilan University.	345-346
<i>Appendix 2-</i> IPS Research approval	347
<i>Appendix 3-</i> Prisoners consent form. (Translated to English)	348
<i>Appendix 4-</i> Email conformation for registration as signatory to the	

Code of Conduct for Serendipitous Research at KCL.	349
<i>Appendix 5- Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance from 1948.</i>	350-353
<i>Appendix 6- PCL-SV items description</i>	354-356
<i>Appendix 7- Table of percentile ranks for PCL-SV</i>	
total and factor scores.	357

## **Abstract**

The aim of this study is to investigate the Social-psychology profile of terrorist leaders in Israeli prisons. The research was conducted with the cooperation of the Intelligence Department of the Israeli Prison System. The study is qualitative and was conducted through in-depth interviews with leaders of terrorist organisations in prisons around Israel. A total of 18 Palestinian leaders were interviewed in several prisons around the country. The participants were leaders of major terrorist organisations in Israel: Fatah, Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

The research focuses on five main themes:

1. Social influence factors: Adolescence, family, social surroundings, the organisation and their influence on the leader's adjustment to imprisonment.
2. Personality profile of the leaders and whether they have symptoms of a psychopathic personality based on Hare psychopathy check list (PCL-SV)
3. Mindset: General perspectives such as rationalisations for committing terrorist acts, perceptions towards the victims, Israeli society and their actions in relation to the conflict.

4. Leadership profile: What kind of leaders are they? How do they perceive this position? How do they see their conduct and achievements as leaders? Would they want to continue their leadership position outside of prison?
5. Imprisonment: the effect of the prison experience and their radicalisation or de-radicalisation process.

The main findings of this research suggest that the leaders of terrorist groups in Israeli prisons are going through a unique process while incarcerated, that psychopathic personality profile was found among them and their rationalisations for carrying out the terrorist acts are quite varied. Furthermore, the findings of this study highlight the importance of the aspects of social surrounding and culture on the prisoner's mind-set and conduct, as well as on their adjustment to imprisonment and their radicalisation or de-radicalisation process.

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor John Gearson for taking me under his wings at an advanced stage of my work and its resultant complications. His perceptive guidance allowed me to follow the appropriate direction towards exploring the delicate themes and yet still be true to my own judgments. I would also like to thank my second supervisor Professor Mike Rainsborough for his good advice, as well as Dr. John Bew who were both willing to give detailed consideration to my work and made a great effort to guide me throughout this process.

I am thankful to the Israeli Prison System (IPS) authorities for their open minded and cooperation throughout the research. Special thanks to Brigadier General (Ret) Betty Lahat, former IPS head of Intelligence; Lt. Colonel Gavriel Yehuda, IPS head of intelligence- south district; Joshua M. Weiss, Ph.D, Former Head of IPS Research Committee; Lt. Colonel Hatem Azam, IPS head of intelligence- central district, and Major Raviv Engel Former head of intelligence- Hasharon prison; as well as Lt. General (Ret) Orit Adato, former head of the IPS and Major General (Ret) Itsik Gabay, IPS former head of north district, for their important contribution to the research and constant support in its conduct.

My gratitude goes to two main funders of this longstanding project, entrepreneurs and philanthropists, Mr. Newt Becker, RIP, who believed in the importance of the study and its necessity but who unfortunately died before its completion, as well as Miss Celia and Mr Edward Atkin who are passionately involved in the Arab Israeli conflict,



and who believed in me and supported my efforts to finalise the study. Other funding for the research was received from the Anglo Israel Association (AIA). I would like to thank them and especially Ruth Saunders for their kind support.

I would also like to express my dear gratitude to Professor Sarah Ben-David who was always there for me, share her knowledge and brilliant advices whenever needed as well as Professor Peter Neumann and Dr. Ahron Bregman for leading me to do better. Furthermore, I would like to thank the precious people who helped me throughout my work with proof-reading and mostly with massive friendly support: Sally Beckenham, Or Rabinowitz, Katie Rothman, Marisa Porges, Raphael Marcus, Lawrence Joffe and Maya Ben-Aharon.

Finally, my dear cherished family, my parents Rahamim and Tamar Yehoshua and my siblings Shimrit, Saar, Barak and Hila for their unconditional love and support, in spite of the difficulties and immense sacrifices they made for me, they never ceased to push me forward- this research is dedicated to you with all my love, I would have never done this without you. And thank you God for this achievement!

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The purpose of this research is to form a better understanding of the conduct and mind-set of terrorist leaders held in Israeli prisons, and to assess the effects of the prison experience on them. It will fill in gaps in the literature relating to the psychology of terrorist groups leaders in prisons by exposing the main aspects of their social, professional and personal lives as well as their attitudes and perceptions. This information was gathered by first hand interviews through repeated encounters with this type of leader and hence makes an original contribution to the literature, as well as to the practice of counter terrorism initiatives and policy-making by, hopefully, improving methods of communication, counter terrorism and conflict resolution.

This study attempts to expand the knowledge in the field related to the social-psychology and profiling of terrorism in order to allow for a clearer sense of this phenomenon. As things stand, it appears that existing information and research regarding the psychology of terrorism is insufficient in depth and breadth to give researchers an understanding of the mind-set and behaviour of terrorists. The reason for this inadequate literature is complex - Silke has suggested this to be largely an issue of resources; that research regarding terrorists has been lacking due to an absence of direct contact with terrorists, which inevitably (and significantly) limits the availability of interview material and first-hand information. Accordingly, 80% of current data is based on secondary material, such as books, journals, the media (or

media-derived databases) and other published documents, which often does not add significant new information.<sup>1</sup>

The present research was conducted in Israeli prisons and will present unique first-hand information, gathered during more than a year of interviewing leaders of the most active terrorist groups that operate in Israel – Hamas, Fatah and Islamic Jihad. The data includes the leaders' life history, thoughts, mind-set, attitudes and social surroundings.

The data in this study is divided into five main categories, which ultimately form the foundation of the social-psychology profile of the leaders:

1. Sociological influencing factors within the leaders' lives, comprising: adolescence, family, social surroundings and the organisation, as well as the effect of these aspects on the leader's adjustment to imprisonment;
2. Personality profiles of the leaders and assessment of whether they display symptoms of psychopathic personality based on the Hare psychopathy check list (PCL-SV);

---

<sup>1</sup>Silke, A. (2001, p.2) The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 13 (4), 1–14; (2008, p.101), Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalisation. *European Journal of Criminology*. 5 (1), 99 –123; for more information regarding the insufficient research on terrorism see Schmid, Alex Peter & Jongman, A. J. (1988, chapter, 3 p.137-139 and chapter 4, p. 177- 185). *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, & Literature*'. Transaction Publisher; Horgan (2004, chapter 2, p. 30-56), The Case of First hand Research, in Andrew Silke (ed.) *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements & Failures*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 30–56; as well as more updated edition of Schmid, Alex P.(2011, chapter 8, p. 459-460). *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*. Taylor and Francis.

3. General perspectives, such as rationalisations for carrying out the terrorist acts, their perceptions towards these acts and the victims involved as well as the Israeli society in general;
4. Leadership profile, as to their perceptions of leadership, their decision-making process, difficulties and ambitions; and,
5. The effect of the prison experience in general, and on their radicalisation or de-radicalisation process in particular.

### **The Research focus and main foundation**

This study focuses on terrorist leaders within these three organisations, as there is a particular need for knowledge and information about this group of leaders; the leaders have major responsibility for and involvement in their respective terrorist organisations and their activities and yet the literature relating to terrorist leaders is very limited and insufficient. Worthy leaders are considered to form extraordinary sets of qualities and whether through charisma or extensive use of managerial skills influence the organisation they are in charge of by leading it toward development and progress.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the literature regarding the psychological and sociological aspects of terrorism concentrates mainly on the individual terrorist or the group, and

---

<sup>2</sup> For information regarding the importance of leadership in general: Goleman, D. et al. (2002, p.3) *Primal Leadership: Realizing the Power of Emotional Intelligence*. Harvard Business Press; Bass, B. M and Bass, R. R. (2008, p.3) *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*. Simon and Schuster; Information regarding the importance of terrorist leaders in particular: Hoffman, B. (2004, p.14-15) *Redefining Counterterrorism- The Terrorist Leader as CEO*. RAND corporation; Deikman, A. J. (2005, p. 71-78) 'The Psychological Power of Charismatic Leaders in Cults and Terrorist Organisations', in James J.F. Forest (ed.) *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes*. Praeger. pp. 71-83; Meertens, Prins and Doosje in Veldhuis, T & Staun, J. (2009, p.57) *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model*. Available from: [http://www.diis.dk/graphics/\\_IO\\_indsatsomraader/Religion\\_og\\_social\\_konflikt\\_og\\_Mellemosten/Islamist%20Radicalisation.Veldhuis%20and%20Staun.pdf](http://www.diis.dk/graphics/_IO_indsatsomraader/Religion_og_social_konflikt_og_Mellemosten/Islamist%20Radicalisation.Veldhuis%20and%20Staun.pdf).

much less on the leaders,<sup>3</sup> while most available data relating to terrorist leaders consists largely of specific reports or profiles of certain leaders, with minimal extension to the broad social and psychological phenomenon of this group.<sup>4</sup>

## **Literature review**

### **Definitions of relevant terms to the study**

*Terrorism* has always been a very complicated term to define, and even in the current period, there is still no universal agreement on the definition of the concept. The lack of consensus is to some extent inescapable, given the heterogeneity of terrorist behaviours and conduct, and the variety of declared or assumed motivations, i.e. religious, ethno-nationalist, social, ideological etc.<sup>5</sup> Malik details the factors that must

---

<sup>3</sup> Research on the social and psychological aspects of terrorism in general: Hudson, R. A. (1999) *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Become a Terrorist and Why?* Available from: [http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc\\_Psych\\_of\\_Terrorism.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc_Psych_of_Terrorism.pdf); Crenshaw, M. (2000) The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st Century. *Political Psychology*. 21 (2), 405–420; Stout, C. E. (2002b) *The Psychology of Terrorism: Theoretical Understandings and Perspectives*. Greenwood Publishing Group; Silke, Andrew (2003) *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences*. Wiley; Horgan, J. (2005) *The Psychology of Terrorism*. Routledge; Victoroff, J. I. (2006) *Tangled Roots: Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism*. IOS Press; Miller, L. (2006a) The Terrorist Mind. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 50 (2), 121–138; Victoroff, J. & Kruglanski, A. W. (2009) *Psychology of Terrorism: Classic and Contemporary Insights*. 1st edition. Psychology Press.

<sup>4</sup> Examples of information on specific leaders can be found in: Miliora (2004) The Psychology and Ideology of an Islamic Terrorist Leader: Usama bin Laden. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*. 1(2), 121-139; Bergen, P. L. (2006) *The Osama Bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of Al Qaeda's Leader*. Simon and Schuster; Show Eric D. (2003) Saddam Hussein: Political Psychological Profiling Results Relevant to His Possession, Use, and Possible Transfer of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) to Terrorist Groups. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 26(5), 347-364; Kaplan, E. (2006) *Profile of Khaled Meshal (aka Khalid Meshaal, Khaleed Mash'al)*. Available from: [http://www.actforamericaeducation.com/downloads/All\\_Files\\_by\\_Type/www-cfr-org\\_publication\\_11111\\_profile\\_of\\_khaled\\_meshal\\_aka\\_k.pdf](http://www.actforamericaeducation.com/downloads/All_Files_by_Type/www-cfr-org_publication_11111_profile_of_khaled_meshal_aka_k.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> Schmid, Alex. P. (1992) The Response Problem as a Definition Problem. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 4 (4), 7–13; Hoffman, B. (2006, chapter 1, p.13-44) *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press; Crenshaw (2000, p.406) The psychology of terrorism: New Agenda for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. *Political Psychology*. 21 (2), 405–420; Cooper, H. H. A. (2001) Terrorism The Problem of Definition Revisited. *American Behavioural Scientist*. 44 (6), 881–893; Ruby, C. L. (2002b) The Definition of Terrorism. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*. 2 (1), 9–14.

be taken into consideration when attempting a definition of terrorism: the viewpoints of the actors, the nature of the act, whether it's a state or non-state activity, the objectives, the targets, the victims, the political and historical context and the time or action whether during a time of war, or during a period of peace. Accordingly it seems that a universal definition of terrorism is mostly unmanageable.<sup>6</sup> Or as Laqueur expressed it in late 1970s is simply impossible.<sup>7</sup>

Though the phenomenon of terrorism occurred vastly in early history, the term itself appeared relatively recently, in 1798 as a French term for abuse and wrongdoing aspired by the French revolution.<sup>8</sup> It reappeared in the late 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s while ever since being the subject of constant debate as to its definition, uses by political actors and propaganda as well as the extended meanings and misuse of it in order to negatively proclaim related phenomenon such as 'cyber' or 'narco' terrorism.<sup>9</sup> Hoffman even argued that the term even further extended, mainly by the media, to explain any misconduct occurring for example- assassinations or poisoned products in supermarkets; even with no relation to the actual parameters of the term such as the significance of political aims and use of actual violence.<sup>10</sup> In a famous study, Schmid and Jongman tried to establish a foundation for a broad definition for terrorism, out of 109 definitions they found in the existing literature. They identified 22 main categories out of all the definitions including: violence, political, and fear,

---

<sup>6</sup> Malik, O. (2000, p.1-2) *Enough of the Definition of Terrorism*. Royal Institute of International Affair.

<sup>7</sup> Laqueur, W. (1977b, p.5) *Terrorism*. Boston: Little, Brown.

<sup>8</sup> Laqueur, W. (1977a, p.6) *The History of Terrorism*. Transaction Publishers.

<sup>9</sup> Weinberg, L., Pedahzur, A., et al. (2004) The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16 (4), 777–794.

<sup>10</sup> Hoffman (2006, p.1); Schmid (1992, p.9-10).

but eventually the definition they formed was itself complicated and regarded as inadequate to allow for any sufficient action.<sup>11</sup>

It has also been argued that there is no need for definition of terrorism which is no less than a violent crime.<sup>12</sup> However especially following the terrorist attacks of September 2001 against the United States, there has been a growing attempt to define the concept of terrorism, in order to allow governments and law enforcement agencies to collaborate effectively in handling the threat. Various states such as Australia, Canada, United States, United Kingdom and South Africa, as well as international institutions such as the United Nations, have found it necessary to define terrorism according to their own perceptions. Most of these countries approached the definition in more general terms which cover broader aspects of terrorism while some also added more specific aspects as to certain types of violent acts which they subjectively found necessary to address such as kidnaps or hijacking for ransom acts in South Africa.<sup>13</sup>

Since 1983 the United States State Department has defined terrorism as: ‘politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience’.<sup>14</sup> The three main elements of this definition are the political motivation, the target as non-combatant and the perpetrators are non-state actors, which accordingly mean that nation states

---

<sup>11</sup> Schmid and Jongman (2005, chapter 1, p.1-29); Weinberg, et al. (2004, p.777-794).

<sup>12</sup> Malik (2000, p.46).

<sup>13</sup> All these varied definitions are detailed in Golder, B. & Williams, G. (2004, p. 270-295) What is Terrorism?- Problems of Legal Definition. *SSRN eLibrary*. Available from: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1351612](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1351612) (Accessed 23 October 2012); Malik (2000, p.46); Ruby (2002, p.10); Saul, B. (2005, p.141-142) Definition of ‘Terrorism’ in the UN Security Council: 1985–2004. *Chinese Journal of International Law*. 4 (1), 141–166.

<sup>14</sup> U.S. Department of State (2000), title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f(d). Accessed at (6 September 2012) can be found on line: <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2000/>

cannot be defined as terrorists when they commit political violence. Furthermore Ruby has stressed that there are other important aspects such as the psychological, moral, legal and behavioural elements of an act that need to be considered when defining acts as terrorism. Following the terrorist events of September 2001 (hereafter 9/11) other measures were taken by the US Congress and President George W. Bush, to widen the definition of international and domestic terrorism, in order to tackle the threat in light of the new events and needs.<sup>15</sup> The American federal bureau of investigation in its own definition relates to these aspects of domestic and international terrorism while taking in to consideration the origin, base and objectives of the terrorist organisations.<sup>16</sup>

The UN general assembly as part of its response to the events of 9/11 drafted a general definition of terrorism that principally referred to any person who commits an offence that causes death or seriously injures others or damages private or public property as a result, or means to cause economic loss, when the purpose of these acts are intimidation of others or influencing governments or international institutions to do an act or to refrain from doing an act. This definition is still in draft form and no consensus has been reached on this proposal as yet. This lack of definition is somehow deliberate as the UN advocate countries to establish their own definitions to address their specific needs without limitations from international authorities. As such by initiating resolution 1737 to tackle terrorism financing, there was no application as

---

<sup>15</sup>Ruby (2002, p.10-12); Golder and Williams (2004, p.277-278); Crimm (2004) High Alert: The Government's War on the Financing of Terrorism and Its Implication for Donors, Domestic Charitable Organisations, and Global Philanthropy. *William and Mary Law Review*. 45 (4), 1341–1451; as well as US Public Law 107–56. 107th Congress Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001, 18 USC, on line: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-107publ56/pdf/PLAW-107publ56.pdf> .

<sup>16</sup> FBI report (2006) Terrorism 2002-2005. online: [http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005/terror02\\_05.pdf](http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005/terror02_05.pdf).



to what exactly is terrorism and hence any country could address it according to its own interpretations.<sup>17</sup>

Ganor argues that an objective definition of terrorism is crucial to any serious attempt to combat the phenomenon. He suggested that an objective definition should be based upon accepted international laws and principles regarding what behaviours are permitted in conventional wars between nations. Ganor's definition of terrorism seeks to overcome the notion that 'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter', introduced by Trotsky<sup>18</sup> in 1920 to highlight the problematic aspect of a terrorist's identity. Ganor instead defines terrorism as 'the deliberate use or the threat to use violence against civilians in order to attain political, ideological and religious aims'.<sup>19</sup>

This study was conducted in Israeli prisons, where the participants are prisoners who were charged with terrorism offenses under Israeli law and sentenced accordingly. Israel lacks a written constitution; however, due to constant terrorism threats since its creation, a specific legislation was initiated in 1948, upon the state's founding, in order to deal with these challenges. Under the Israeli Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance (PTO)<sup>20</sup> the definitions of a terrorist organisation, a member and a leader are as follows:

---

<sup>17</sup> Saul (2005, 157-161); Golder and Williams (2004, p. 273-275); UN Press release GA/9925 (3.10.2001). Assembly hears calls for Definition of Terrorism. Online: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2001/GA9925.doc.htm>

<sup>18</sup> Trotsky (1920, chapter 4) Terrorism and Communism Dictatorship vs. Democracy. access online: [www.marxists.org/archive/Trotsky](http://www.marxists.org/archive/Trotsky); See also Laqueur, W. (1987, p. 302) *The Age of Terrorism*. Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company.

<sup>19</sup> Ganor (2002, p.288) Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist another Man's Freedom Fighter?. *Police Practice and Research*. 3 (4), 287-304.

<sup>20</sup> See appendix 5- Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance from 1948 (In Hebrew), p.350-353; as well as the Israeli ministry of defence website: <http://www.mod.gov.il/pages/general/teror.asp> (In Hebrew); See also Buhler, E. G. (2010, p.58-63) The Israeli Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance and its Impact on the Quality of Democracy. *Stanford Journal of International Relations*. XI (2), 58-63.

- *Terrorist organisation*- a group of people who use violent activities or the threat of violent activities that can cause death to another person or an injury of that person;
- *A member of a terrorist organisation*- a person who is counted in a terrorist organisation, participates in its activities, publishes propaganda of the organisation, its activities and goals, or collects money or other material objects for the favour of a terrorist organisation and its activities.
- *Terrorist organisation leading activist*- a person who plays a role in the leadership or the training team of a terrorist organisation, or participates in its committees or its decision-making process, or has a role in the terrorist organisation's court of law, or gives propaganda speeches in public assemblies or on the radio in the name of a terrorist organisation.

These definitions have not changed since 1948; however, over the years amendments have been made to the legislation, such as the definition of people who support terrorism through actions<sup>21</sup> including: donating money or other instrumental needs, and speaking in favour of the terrorist organisation. Furthermore, section eight of the PTO,<sup>22</sup> deals with the governmental declaration of what constitutes a terrorist organisation, pointing out the legal aspects of this assertion, and acts in a similar way as regards who is considered to be an activist in these declared terrorist organisations.

---

<sup>21</sup> These amendments are from 1980 and later on in 2002, see appendix 5: Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance from 1948, p.354-356.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

Accordingly, the Israeli government published a list of terrorist organisations, of which the three organisations relevant to this study which the interviewees are affiliated to, are all on this list: Fatah is number nine on the list, Islamic Jihad is number thirty one, and Hamas is number thirty two.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, these organisations also exist on the list of foreign terrorist organisations (FTOs) recognised by the US Department of State,<sup>24</sup> though Fatah is not currently listed specifically on that list due to its renunciation of terrorism during the peace process with Israel in 1993. However, as will be detailed further, it continues with its militant activities mostly through its military wing- the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades which does appear on the US Department of State's list. A short introduction to each of the three organisations is detailed here:

**Fatah-** Palestinian National Liberation Organisation (in Arabic: Harakat al-Tahrir al-Watani al-Filastini)

The veteran and biggest organisation among the three organisations detailed in this thesis, and the only one that is secular and based mainly on national principals and goals rather than religious aspects. The Fatah was established in 1959, by lower-middle class Palestinian refugees in Kuwait, as a result of disappointment with the rest of Arab nationalist countries' attitudes to the Palestinian cause, which did not imbed the Palestinian's interests in their effort to deal with immense changes in the Middle East. Another factor which triggered its emergence was the failure of any formal Palestinian leadership to emerge after the inception of Israel in 1948. Fatah

---

<sup>23</sup> The Israeli ministry of defence website: <http://www.mod.gov.il/pages/general/teror.asp> (In Hebrew).

<sup>24</sup> The US foreign terrorist organisations list from January 2012: <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.htm>; Hamas is number 13, Islamic Jihad is number 33 and the military wing of the Fatah- Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, is number 4.

promotes ideas related to Palestinian identity and nationalism, which it considers are essential for the liberation of Palestine through an armed struggle.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, Fatah reached acknowledgment as an independent Palestinian political force only after the 1967 'Six Day' War with Israel, free from the external pressure of the defeated Arab countries. Fatah was led by Yasser Arafat,<sup>26</sup> who was one of the main founders and activists of the organisation, and its main leader until his death in 2004. Around this time the Fatah also established its first base in the West Bank, gaining strong support and cooperation from the Palestinian population from all over the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as in the Palestinian diaspora.<sup>27</sup>

By the end of 1969, through taking over the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), the dominant and most prestigious Palestinian national organisations recognised by the Arab states and well-institutionalised within Palestinian society,<sup>28</sup> the Fatah established its position as the umbrella for all Palestinian national organisations. By so doing, Fatah enhanced the group's political and social validity, and furthered its institutionalisation process, as well as the legitimisation of the Palestinian resistance.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, in 1968 the Fatah adopted the PLO's charter, created in 1964, and amended it according to its perception of armed struggle as the only way to 'liberate' Palestine, by destroying Israel, and assuming full sovereignty

---

<sup>25</sup> Sayigh (1997, p.80-92) *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*. Oxford University Press; Kurz, A. N. (2005, p.23-26) *Fatah and the politics of violence: The Institutionalization of a Popular Struggle*. Sussex Academic Press; Baumgarten, H. (2005, p.31-33) The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948-2005. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 34 (4), 25-48.

<sup>26</sup> For information on Yasser Arafat see: Rubin, B. & Rubin, J. C. (2005) *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography*. Oxford University Press; Steffoff, R. (1988) *Yasir Arafat*. Chelsea House.

<sup>27</sup> Sayigh (1997, p.155-158).

<sup>28</sup> For information about the PLO and its history: Hamid, R. (1975) What is the PLO? *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 4 (4), 90-109; Hilal, J. M. (1995) The PLO crisis in legitimacy. *Race & Class*. 37 (2), 1-18.

<sup>29</sup> Kurz (2005, p.57-59); Hamid (1975, p.99-101).

and self-determination over it; whereupon the Jews who live in Palestine would be considered Palestinians and would live under Palestinian authority.<sup>30</sup>

Since the early 1970s, the Fatah has gone through several different processes of mobilization, while moving its headquarters around various Arab countries and within the Palestinian territories; Fatah continued its armed struggle and also enhanced its legitimacy and political recognition. The constant struggle with Israel forced Fatah to consider the use of diplomacy in order to uphold its activism and sustainability. The outbreak of the First *Intifada* (the Palestinian uprising) in 1987, however, was partially triggered by Fatah's failure to end the occupation, as well as the troubled political situation between Fatah and other Arab countries at that time as well as other international circumstances, which challenged the organisation to take control over the uprising and to lead the way for the establishment of the peace process with Israel in 1993.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, the peace process with Israel did not last as anticipated. Although in an April 1996 meeting, Fatah designated that it would change its charter which calls for the destruction of Israel and supports the armed struggle, and the Palestinian National Council (PNC) voted in favour of changing the charter,<sup>32</sup> it seems that these amendments have never been implemented. The changing of the charter was denied

---

<sup>30</sup> Cobban, H. (1984, p.43) *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power and Politics*. Cambridge University Press; See also- The Palestinian charter from 1968 (English version), online: <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/nea/rls/22573.htm>

<sup>31</sup> Kurtz (2005, p.18-22); Usher, G. (1995, p.1-3) *Palestine in Crisis: The Struggle for Peace and Political Independence*. Pluto Press.

<sup>32</sup> Rubin, B. (1999, p.96) *The Transformation of Palestinian Politics: From Revolution to State-Building*. Harvard University Press; Khalidi, A. S. (1996, p.28) *The Palestinians' First Excursion into Democracy*. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 25 (4), 20–28; Schmemmann, S. (April 25, 1996) P.L.O. Ends Call for Destruction of Jewish State. *New York Times*. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/04/25/world/plo-ends-call-for-destruction-of-jewish-state.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm> (Accessed 6 August 2012).

by Palestinian and Israeli officials to have been fulfilled since the Fatah never disengaged completely from the armed struggle.<sup>33</sup> The Palestinians viewed the limitations of sovereignty for the PA- now the Palestinian Authority, within the Oslo accord<sup>34</sup> as futile as it would not lead to any security or prosperity.<sup>35</sup> By 2000, due to the failure of the peace process, as well as the Fatah formidable efforts to attain a peace agreement with Israel, the second *intifada*, another Palestinian uprising, occurred. The Fatah, which was now part of the Palestinian Authority (PA), aspired to gain back its patronage within the Palestinian population, supported the armed struggle by establishing the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, the military wing of the organisation, thus ending the peace process completely.<sup>36</sup> However, this did not lead to an increase in its popularity, due to the faction's apparent corruption and bad leadership according to Israel and US analysts, or as a matter of despair from Israeli continuation of actions against the Palestinian populations as well as deterioration of the social economic situation, By 2006, the Hamas, another dominant Palestinian organisation, won democratic elections to the Palestinian Legislative Council, thus changing the dynamic of the conflict completely and leaving the Fatah badly damaged.<sup>37</sup> An introduction to this organisation is now detailed:

**Hamas, Islamic Resistance Movement (In Arabic: Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamia)**

---

<sup>33</sup> Clubb, G. (2009, p.29) *Re-evaluating the Disengagement Process: the Case of Fatah. Perspectives on Terrorism*. 3 (3), 25–34; Shragai, N. (April 22, 1996) An Internal Fatah Publication: the Palestinian Charter did not go through any Change. *Ha'aretz*. 22 April. (in Hebrew)

<sup>34</sup> An agreement negotiated and initialled in August 1993 and finally signed in Washington in September the same year. It forms a declaration of principles for Palestinian self-governing arrangements in Gaza and Jericho. See Shlaim, A. (1994, p.24-40) The Oslo Accord. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 23 (3), 24–40.

<sup>35</sup> Turner, M. (2006, p.744) Building Democracy in Palestine: Liberal Peace Theory and the Election of Hamas. *Democratization*. 13 (5), 739–755.

<sup>36</sup> Kurtz (2005, p.21-22); Frisch, H. (2005, p.391-406) Has the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict become Islamic? Fatah, Islam, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 17(3), 391-406.

<sup>37</sup> Mishal, S and Sela, A. (2006, p.xiii, preface to 2006 edition) *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, And Coexistence*. Columbia University Press; Turner (2006, p.740-746).

The second biggest Palestinian organisation; established in late 1987 with the outbreak of the first *intifada*, the Palestinian uprising, as a religious alternative to Fatah, and hence it represented a dramatic challenge to Fatah hegemony within the Palestinian arena. Unlike Fatah which was initiated by and operated for many years within the Palestinian diaspora, the Hamas emerged within the Palestinian Territories. Hamas was deeply involved socially with Palestinian society from 1945, as part of the Muslim Brotherhood, long before Hamas's formal creation.<sup>38</sup> The Muslim Brotherhood is a very dominant Islamic movement, which emerged in the late 1920s in Egypt, that later spread to other Arab countries and Palestine, and was involved mainly in social and cultural activities within civil society.<sup>39</sup> Thus, the foundation of Hamas as the military wing of the Muslim Brotherhood by Ahmed Yassin, then a dominant preacher of the Muslim Brotherhood,<sup>40</sup> and his colleagues, required an organisational adjustment and justification to its initiation. Hence Hamas was created originally as an independent organisation; arguably, had Hamas not enjoyed success fighting for the Palestinian cause via the uprising, the organisation would not have been recognised by the Muslim Brotherhood and may have been overlooked. Therefore, due to its massive support and operational successes, Hamas indeed declared itself as the military branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, in its charter which originated in 1988.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> For more information on Muslim brotherhood see: Abu Amr, Z. (1994, chapters 1 and 2) *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad*. Indiana University Press; Zahid, M. (2012, mainly chapter 4) *The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis: The Politics of Liberalisation and Reform in the Middle East*. I.B.Tauris.

<sup>39</sup> Abu-Amr, Z. (1993, p.5-6) Hamas: A Historical and Political Background. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 22 (4), 5–19; Mishal and Sela (2006, p.16); Baumgarten (2005, p.37-38).

<sup>40</sup> For more information on Yassin and his activism see Mishal and Sela (2006, p.19-20); Levitt, M. (2007, p.34-37) *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*. Yale University Press.

<sup>41</sup> Abu-Amr (1993, p.10-12); see also the Hamas charter, translated in to English: <http://www.thejerusalemfund.org/www.thejerusalemfund.org/carryover/documents/charter.html>.

Hamas's strength is based mainly on its social roots in society, such as being active in charity work and building religious and educational facilities;<sup>42</sup> but its political stand as laid out in its charter, as resistance to the Israeli occupation, also gained Hamas much popularity and support, when Fatah was trying to facilitate peace with Israel. Accordingly, Hamas was seen by Palestinian society as honest, uncorrupted and relatively moderate organisation that was fighting for a righteous cause.<sup>43</sup> Numerous and mostly western scholars detail Hamas' strict ideology of Palestine as an Arab/Muslim land, while Zionism was in its view an 'alien entity' supported by Western countries.<sup>44</sup> It also advocated that Palestinians should have total sovereignty of the area based on the Islamic principles of the *Sharia*, the traditional Muslim law; accordingly, under this analysis Hamas views the conflict with Israel as a conflict of faith and religion, rather than of nationalism and land, and only by devotion to Islam will victory will be achieved.<sup>45</sup> However, other scholars also stress the immense moderation process Hamas has gone through since its initiation, resulting in its participation eventually in democratic elections in 2006, as well as de-escalating violence and negotiating on *Hudna*, temporary truce with Israel. In view of this, national aspects are also being highlighted and dealt with pragmatically rather than only by a focus on religion and the Muslim faith.<sup>46</sup> Tamimi, a British Palestinian

---

<sup>42</sup> Zuhur, S. (2008, p.6-7) *Hamas and Israel: Conflicting Strategies of Group-Based Politics*. Strategic Studies Institute; Turner (2006, p.247), Malka, H. (2005, p.39) Forcing choices: Testing the Transformation of Hamas. *The Washington Quarterly*. 28 (4), 37–53

<sup>43</sup> Milton-Edwards, B. (2007, p.305-306) Hamas: Victory with Ballots and Bullets. *Global Change, Peace & Security*. 19 (3), 301–316.

<sup>44</sup> Litvak, M. (1998, p.149) The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: the case of Hamas. *Middle Eastern Studies*. 34(1), 148-163; Hroub, K. (2004, p.22-23) Hamas after Shaykh Yasin and Rantisi. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 33(4), 21-38; Levitt, M. (2004, p.3) Hamas from Cradle to Grave. *Middle East Quarterly*. XI (1), 3–15; Schanzer, J. (2003, p.29-38) The Challenge of Hamas to Fatah. *Middle East Quarterly*. X(2), 29-38.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Dolnik, A and Bhattacharjee, A. (2002, p.111) Hamas: Suicide Bombings, Rockets, or WMD? *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 14 (3), 109–128; Brown, N. J. (2006, p.3-4), in his report titled:



academic, claims that the image of Hamas in the west is unbalanced and tendentious, disregarding its social philanthropy and dedication to charity, as well as its struggle against an unjust oppressor.<sup>47</sup>

From 1994, Hamas expanded its operations and started using suicide bombing as a tactic, which increased its popularity among many of the Palestinian population, causing major panic within Israeli society. Nevertheless, this method was also found to cause damage to the image of the Palestinian struggle internationally and hence required re-evaluation.<sup>48</sup> Hamas appears to have been going through a continual process of change and pragmatism, realising that the current situation with Israel, a militarily strong and developed country, necessitates the use of pragmatic solutions. Hamas also keeps a constant balance between nationalism and religion, in order to widen its support base from within the Palestinian population. These factors contributed to Hamas's decision to gain more legitimacy, by becoming more overtly political, and entering the Palestinian Legislative Council elections in 2006, which culminated in a dramatic electoral victory for the organisation.<sup>49</sup>

Hamas's triumph and subsequent control over the Palestinian Authority (PA) emasculated the peace process with Israel due to its refusal to accept the requirements set out by the quartet of the US, EU, UN and Russia - to recognise Israel, to acknowledge previous agreements between the PA and Israel, and to stop terrorist

---

*Aftermath of the Hamas Tsunami*. Available from: [http://edoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/HALCoRe\\_derivate\\_00004835/Carnegie\\_BrownHamasWebCommentary.pdf](http://edoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/HALCoRe_derivate_00004835/Carnegie_BrownHamasWebCommentary.pdf); Hovdenak, A. (2009, p.61-63) *Hamas in Transition: the Failure of Sanctions*. *Democratization*. 16 (1), 59–80.

<sup>47</sup> Tamimi, A. (2007, p.1-3) *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*. C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd.

<sup>48</sup> Dolnik and Bhattacharjee (2002, p.114-115).

<sup>49</sup> Hroub, K. (2010, p.40-57) *Hamas- a Beginners Guide*. Second. Pluto Press; Hovdenak (2009, p.66-67); Gunning, J. (2004) *Peace with Hamas? The Transforming Potential of Political Participation*. *International Affairs*. 80 (2), 233–255; Milton-Edwards, B. (1999, p.193-194) *Islamic Politics in Palestine*. I.B.Tauris.

activities completely or further to denounce the use of violence. As a result its electoral success was not acknowledged by the international community and it was isolated diplomatically.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, since Hamas gained control in Gaza, Palestinian society has stood on the edge of civil war, facing severe economic and social sanctions, though Hamas has found ways to adjust to the difficult situation and to overcome the challenges facing it. At the time of writing (autumn 2012), in spite of a rift in its leadership, the Hamas government seems to be quite stable, generally keeping its military wing from provoking the Israeli government, but allowing other organisations such as Islamic Jihad to maintain their armed struggle and undermine Israel security.<sup>51</sup> The third and last organisation that will be elaborated further will be Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

### **Palestinian Islamic Jihad- PIJ** (In Arabic: Harakat Al-Jihad Al-Islami fi Filistin)

The smallest but most radical organisation among the three groups under consideration, and even among all other Palestinian terrorist organisations in general; PIJ was established by two Muslim Brotherhood activists from the Gaza Strip in 1981, Dr. Fathi ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Shiqaqi and Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Aziz ‘Awda. Both objected to the common views of the Brotherhood towards the Arab-Israeli conflict that advocated primarily Islamic education and Muslim unity, as the only elements that would enable the defeat of Zionism or any other enemy. They have been arrested and

---

<sup>50</sup> Brown, N. J. (2008, p.4) *The Road out of Gaza*. Available from: [https://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/brown\\_gaza\\_final.pdf](https://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/brown_gaza_final.pdf); Hovdenak (2009, p.60-61); Turner (2006, p.249-251).

<sup>51</sup> Hroub (2010, p.144-165); Brown, N. J. (2010, p.43) *The Hamas Fatah Conflict- Shallow but Wide. Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*. 3435; News article regarding IJ rockets to Israel see, Yagna, Y. et al. (2012) Gaza rocket directly hits home in southern Israel; Iron Dome intercepts missile in Netivot for first time. *Haaretz.com*. 20 June. Available from: <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/gaza-rocket-directly-hits-home-in-southern-israel-iron-dome-intercepts-missile-in-netivot-for-first-time-1.439928> (Accessed 20 October 2012).

imprisoned by Israel several times for committing militant acts against the state of Israel. Both leaders were inspired by the Islamic Revolution in Iran, and the militant Islamic movements in Egypt, which is where they obtained their education.<sup>52</sup> In an interview from 1999, Ramadan 'Abdallah Shallah, the secretary general of the PIJ, who later become the leader of the organisation, argued that the conflict between Israel and the Arab world is a matter of right and wrong and it can never be changed. Accordingly, Israel will always aspire for an empire and total control over the Palestinians and the only way to deter it is by armed struggle. Shallah also claimed that his organisation realized this and took the active military initiative in order to fight the occupation forces.

Furthermore, this approach led to massive operations against the organisation and its leaders and activists by Israel and its allies, which forced PIJ to reorganise. In spite of that, Shallah insists that the PIJ is the third biggest Palestinian organisation and has strong support from Palestinian society even though it focuses on the military aspects in relation to the conflict and less on social involvement. He believes that the balance of power in the world is changeable and the conservation of the 'three noes'- no recognition, no negotiation and no peace with Israel will grow to be a dominant perception in the future.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Hatina, M. (2001, p.23-28) *Islam and Salvation in Palestine: the Islamic Jihad Movement*. The Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern and African studies, Tel Aviv University; Litvak, M. (2002, p.1-2) *The Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Background Information*. Available from: <http://www.dayan.org/sites/default/files/taunotes56.pdf>; Abu-Amr, Z. (1994, p.91-94) *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad*. Indiana University Press; Milton-Edwards (1999, p.198-208).

<sup>53</sup> Shallah, R. 'Abdallah & al-'Ayid, K. (1999) The Movement of Islamic Jihad and the Oslo Process. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 28 (4), 61–73.

The PIJ started its armed operations in 1984, while soon afterwards, in 1986 and later on in 1988, both leaders were arrested and exiled to Lebanon; this caused the failure of the organisation's attempts to be the leading organisation of the armed struggle during the First *Intifada*. Nonetheless, Shiqaqi remained active in the leadership of the organisation until his assassination by Israel in 1995, disabling the organisation temporarily though a new leadership of the organisation was appointed, under the name of Dr. Ramadan 'Abdallah Shallah. The organisation never reached its initial aim of being centrally involved in the conflict.<sup>54</sup>

Due to its main leadership being situated in Lebanon, the PIJ established close ties with Hizballah- Party of god, a Shi'ite militia group that also serves as a social and political party in Lebanon; initiated in early 1980's as a resistance group to the Israeli invasion to Lebanon.<sup>55</sup> Hizballah supplied PIJ with training facilities and logistical needs. This enabled the organisation's infiltration into the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon to gain supporters and followers. It also facilitated close connections with Iran, which eventually became its main sponsor. Nevertheless, today it remains a small organisation, comprised of around several hundred activists, and seems to lack the support of the majority of the Palestinian population, mainly due to its lack of social activism within Palestinian society. However, the PIJ is responsible for the killing and injuring of numerous Israelis, mostly civilians, by attacks and suicide bombings. It completely rejected the peace process with Israel, and since 2000, it has

---

<sup>54</sup> Litvak (2002, p.2); Alexander, Y. (2002, p.29-30) *Palestinian Religious Terrorism: Hamas and Islamic Jihad*. Transnational Publishers.

<sup>55</sup> Addis, C. L. (2011, p.1-9) *Hezbollah: Background and Issues for Congress*. DIANE Publishing; for more information: Harik, J. P. (2005) *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*. I.B.Tauris.

been cooperating with Hamas and Fatah in order to commit more terrorist acts and damage Israel's security.<sup>56</sup>

It seems that the three organisations detailed above are all driven by particular national motivation aiming at the liberation of Palestine. Nonetheless, they are different in their ideology and perception, while the Fatah is a secular organisation that focuses mainly on nationalism and the need for a Palestinian state; the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad are religious organisations that base their philosophy and activism on Islam and its doctrine. The relationship between the organisations, mainly the Fatah and Hamas, were quite tense since Hamas initiation in the late 1980s and the rivalry between them caused casualties on both sides. Nevertheless, since the death of Yasser Arafat in 2004 and the electoral victory of Hamas in 2006, these fraught relations escalated massively resulting in Hamas taking over Gaza, separating the PA control over the Palestinian territories.<sup>57</sup> In the time of writing up these lines another Israeli military operation, named 'Pillar of Defence', the second one since operation 'Cast lead' in 2008,<sup>58</sup> is being undertaken to undermine Hamas control over Gaza targeting Hamas leadership and institutions.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup>Hatina (2001, p.107- 115); Alexander (2002, p. 31-34); Shalla and al-'Ayid (1999, p.62).

<sup>57</sup>See report of the Congressional Research Service, the Library of US Congress: Pina, A. D. (2006, p. 1-7) *Fatah and Hamas: The New Palestinian Factional Reality*. Available from: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA458970>; Klein (1996, p.115-119) *Competing Brothers: The Web of Hamas-PLO Relations*. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 8(2), 111-132; Schanzer (2003, p.29-38).

<sup>58</sup>Information regarding 'Cast Lead' operation: Farquhar, S. C. (2009, chapter 3, p.83-102) *Back to Basics: A Study of the Second Lebanon War and Operation CAST LEAD*. Government Printing Office.

<sup>59</sup>For full coverage of operation 'Pillar of Defence' in the Israeli media: Ynet news (2012) *News from Israel, Ynet news - Operation Pillar of Defence*. Available from: <http://www.ynetnews.com/home/0,7340,L-10544,00.html>. (Accessed 26 November 2012); for other resources: al-Mughrabi, N. (2012) Israel Hammers Hamas in Gaza Offensive. *Reuters*. 14 November. Available from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/14/us-palestinians-israel-hamas-idUSBRE8AD0WP20121114>. (Accessed 17 November 2012).

The research described below addresses the query of the social-psychology profile of the terrorist group leaders in prison by focusing on two main elements. The first element derives from the discipline of profiling, in which finding the similarities and differences between the terrorist leaders can lead to the substance of assumptions regarding their present, or even future, behaviour and conduct. The second element comes from the discipline of criminology, which deals intensively with the effects of prison on people and with their adaptation to imprisonment. Each element will be detailed further:

### **Profiling**

The first element at the heart of the theoretical framework of this thesis comes from the discipline of profiling, which is an interdisciplinary science that enables one to make assumptions about offenders based on their persistent behaviour traits. Another aspect of profiling explores the psychological similarities between certain types of offenders that can affect non-criminal aspects of the person as well, and relate to his general conduct.<sup>60</sup>

Turvey argues that the history of criminal profiling is somewhat malevolent and goes back to the ninth century, to ancient Roman times, where it was used to demonise Jews by anti-Semitic claims of the killing and eating of Christians by Jews during

---

<sup>60</sup> Jackson, Janet L. & Bekerian, Debra Anne (1997, p.2-3), 'Does Offender Profiling Have A Role to Play?' in J. L. Jackson & D. A. Bekerian (eds.) *Offender Profiling: Theory, Research and Practice*. England: John Wiley & Sons Ltd; Holmes, R. M. & Holmes, S. T. (1996, p.1-2) *Profiling Violent Crimes: An Investigative Tool*. Second Edition. Sage Publications, Inc; Petherick, W. A. & Turvey, B. E. (2011, p.42-44) 'Criminal Profiling: Science, Logic and Cognition', in *Criminal Profiling: An Introduction to Behavioural Evidence Analysis*. Academic Press. pp. 42–65; Shone, R and Spender, N. (2008, p.6-7) *Solving Crimes through Criminal Profiling*. Rosen Classroom; Grubin, D. (1995, p.259) Offender Profiling. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*. 6(2), 259-263.

their holidays. Later, in the fifteen and sixteen centuries criminal profiling assisted the medieval inquisition to identify witches in order to prosecute and punish them for their activities, and until the eighteenth century it was used by the Spanish inquisition to identify Jews and Muslims who falsely converted to Christianity.<sup>61</sup> Others trace the history of profiling to fictional literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Authors like Edgar Allan Poe<sup>62</sup>, Wilkie Collins<sup>63</sup> and the famous example from the late nineteenth and early twentieth - Sir Arthur Conan Doyle<sup>64</sup> with his creation of Sherlock Holmes, a brilliant scientist yet a peculiar character, who solved murder cases by using criminal profiling.<sup>65</sup>

Criminal profiling emerged in real investigations around the same time in London, in the year 1888, by a forensic medical examiner named Thomas Bond who added his input to the case of the serial killer known as 'Jack the Ripper'.<sup>66</sup> Although this case was never solved it raised the awareness to the field of profiling and in World War II the US military asked Walter Langer, a psychoanalyst, to profile Adolf Hitler in order to understand his mind-set and behaviour.<sup>67</sup> Since then profiling has been used as a

---

<sup>61</sup> Turvey, B. E. (2011, chapter 1, p.4-18) *Criminal Profiling: An Introduction to Behavioural Evidence Analysis*. Academic Press.

<sup>62</sup> Poe, Edgar Allan. (1887) *The Murders in the Rue Morgue: and other tales*. Worthington Company. An American Author who was known as the first author to publish a detective novel. The book was first published in 1841.

<sup>63</sup> Collins (1860) *The Woman in White*. Bernhard Tauchwitz; as well as (1868) *The Moonstone*. Wordsworth Editions Ltd. A British author who as well known to be one of the first to create a fiction based on detective who is also a psychologist that specialises in human behaviour.

<sup>64</sup> Doyle, Sir Arthur Conan. (2012) *The Complete Sherlock Holmes: All 4 Novels and 56 Short Stories*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform. The first novel was published in 1892, the second in 1894, and the other three were published in 1905, 1917 and 1927; see also BBC - History - Sir Arthur Conan Doyle Available from: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic\\_figures/conan\\_sir\\_arthur\\_doyle.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/conan_sir_arthur_doyle.shtml). (Accessed 26 October, 2012).

<sup>65</sup> Hicks, S. J. & Sales, B. D. (2006, p.3-5) *Criminal Profiling: Developing an Effective Science and Practice*. American Psychological Association.

<sup>66</sup> Shone and Spender (2008, p.44); Canter, D. (2004, p.2) Offender Profiling and Investigative Psychology. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*. 1 (1), 1–15.

<sup>67</sup> Hicks and Sales (2006, p.7), see also Walter, C. L. (1943) *A Psychological Analysis of Adolph Hitler his Life and Legend*. Washington, D.C: Office of Strategic Services. Available from:

method in a variety of cases, - a famous successful case was the story of the ‘Mad bomber’ who terrorised the city of New York from 1940, for seventeen years and was caught after being profiled by a psychiatrist named James Brussel.<sup>68</sup>

In spite of its charm and popularity among investigators and other law enforcement agencies, criminal profiling has often been criticized for being non-scientific and hence not reliable. Many scholars as well as professionals are quite sceptical as to its effectiveness and therefore it is yet to be used universally.<sup>69</sup> Kocsis and Palermo detailed numerous weaknesses in this method, including: validity - due to scarcity of valuable information; objectivity of the profiler and the use of self-intuition; and, utility - there appears to be more use of common sense and in many cases a profile can be irrelevant or over-generalised. They also stress the lack of homogeneity in results from different methods and terminologies in the same field and furthermore an absence of any regulation.<sup>70</sup> These criticisms highlight the need for further intensive research and development of the field of profiling; nevertheless there is already a better use of the varied approaches of profiling according to the needs of different agencies, or unique cases such as diagnostic evaluation,<sup>71</sup> crime scene analysis,<sup>72</sup> and investigative psychology,<sup>73</sup> as well as geographic profiling,<sup>74</sup> among others.<sup>75</sup>

---

<http://6profu.ro/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2011/05/A-psychological-analysis-of-Adolf-Hitler-his-life-and-legend.pdf>; A similar project has been done in the UK by Professor Martyn Housden, at the University of Bradford, see: Housden, M. (2005) An Early Example of Personality Profiling: Henry A. Murray’s Study of Adolf Hitler Written for the OSS. *Rutgers J. Law & Relig.* 2-17.

<sup>68</sup> Grubin (1995, p.259-260); Brussel, J. A. (1968) *Casebook of a Crime Psychiatrist*. Bernard Geis Associates; distributed by Grove Press.

<sup>69</sup> Bartol, C. R. (1996, p.79) Police Psychology Then, Now, and Beyond. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 23 (1), 70–89; Muller, D. A. (2000b, p.234 235) Criminal Profiling Real Science or Just Wishful Thinking. *Homicide Studies*. 4 (3), 234–264.

<sup>70</sup> Kocsis, R. N. & Palermo, G. B. (2005) Ten major Problems with Criminal Profiling. *American Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*. 26 (2), 45–67.

<sup>71</sup> More scientific and relies mainly on clinical judgment, for more information: Copson, G. et al. (1997) Articulating a Systematic Approach to Clinical Crime Profiling. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*. 7 (1), 13–17.



Furthermore, criminal profiling is defined as “a technique for identifying the major personality and behavioural characteristics of an individual based upon an analysis of the crimes he or she has committed.”<sup>76</sup> This aspect is particularly essential in aiding the investigation of serious criminals, such as serial killers, sex offenders and serial arsonists. These crimes tend to cause social panic and the police can have difficulty understanding the complexity of such offenders’ motives and natures; by using the method of profiling, authorities might be able to fathom the intricacies of these crimes.<sup>77</sup>

Holmes and Holmes describe the main output of profiling as providing three pieces of information that can be used by the criminal justice system: a social and psychological assessment of the perpetrator; the material possessions the perpetrator might have which can link him to the specific crime; and, recommended strategies for interviewing, in addition to investigation techniques that can be used by law enforcement officials.<sup>78</sup> In addition, profiling is a dynamic method; it does not have to contain all these aspects and it does not apply to all kinds of crimes. The profiler usually works according to the needs of the law enforcement officials he/she is

---

<sup>72</sup> Developed by the behavioral science unit of the FBI and is the popular method of profiling which inspired numerous novels and movies. For more information: Muller (2000, p.237-240); as well as FBI- Federal Bureau of Investigation (2012) *Laboratory Services*. Available from: <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/lab/lab> (Accessed 26 October 2012).

<sup>73</sup> Developed by David Canter an academic psychologist who focused more on environmental profiling, Canter (2004, p.1-5).

<sup>74</sup> The analysis based on the characteristic of the locations of the crimes and mobility of the offender. See: Holmes and Holmes (1996, chapter 10, p.148-165).

<sup>75</sup> Muller, D. A. (2000a, p.236) Criminal Profiling. *Homicide Studies*. 4 (3), 234 –264; Wilson, P. et al. (1997, p.2) Validity, Utility and Ethics of Profiling for Serial Violent and Sexual Offenders. *Psychiatry, Psychology, and Law*. 412; Holmes & Holmes (1996, p.7-8).

<sup>76</sup> Bennell, C. et al. (2008, p.143) What Skills are required for Effective Offender Profiling? An Examination of the Relationship between Critical Thinking Ability and Profile Accuracy. *Psychology, Crime & Law*. 14 (2), 143.

<sup>77</sup> Holmes & Holmes (1996, p.2); Ainsworth, P. B. (2001, p.5-9) *Offender Profiling and Crime Analysis*. Illustrated edition. Willan Publishing .

<sup>78</sup> Holms and Holms (1996, p.3-6).

working with. While profiling was mainly initiated and used within crime divisions for murderers, sex offenders or arsonists, in recent years it has also been applied to terrorism as well, due to the extreme developments and severe acts committed by terrorist organisations around the world, as will be elaborated further.

### **Profiling of Terrorists**

Profiling can also be found in studies conducted on terrorism and political violence in recent decades, where in the context of terrorism, similar investigative profiling seeks to examine the physical and behavioural evidence of an act of terrorism, and draw inferences about the potential characteristics of the person who committed the act.<sup>79</sup> Examples of such research include one of the detailed sociological research studies in the late seventies, conducted by Russell and Miller that established a sociological profile of a terrorist based on terrorists from 18 different terrorist organisations between the years 1966 and 1976. They came up with some interesting findings relating to the social aspects of terrorism such as gender, educational achievements, socioeconomic status, marital statuses etc.<sup>80</sup> Merari, a psychologist, also used profiling to establish a profile of a suicide bomber. He gathered information from interviews of families of suicide terrorists and others who failed in their missions as well as from newspapers and other resources. His profile reveals information about the demographic characteristics of suicide bombers, as well as personality aspects, mental

---

<sup>79</sup> Hudson (1999, p.11); Borum, R. (2004, p.36) *Psychology of Terrorism*. Tampa: University of South Florida; Dean, G. (2007, p.172-176) 'Criminal Profiling in a Terrorism Context' in Richard N. Kocsis (ed.) *Criminal Profiling*. Totowa, NJ: Humana Press. pp. 169–188. Available from: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/w016t74364728717/> (Accessed 2 September 2011); Horgan, J. (2008a, p.82-85) From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalisation into Terrorism. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 618 (1), 80–94.

<sup>80</sup> Russell, C. A. & Miller, B. H. (1977) Profile of a terrorists. *Terrorism an International Journal*. 1(1), 17-34.

illness, religion and group dynamics.<sup>81</sup> This information assists in better understanding the phenomenon and further acquiring sufficient tools in order to deal with it.<sup>82</sup>

Borum<sup>83</sup> emphasized that the difference between criminal profiling and terrorist profiling is that in criminal profiling, the information used is from crimes that have already been committed, and that information helps to build a profile that will assist in catching the offender; whereas in profiling in relation to terrorism, there is usually no need to identify the perpetrator, due to the fact that individuals behind most terrorist acts, as well as the terrorist organisations which send them, are quite keen to reveal their identity and, most importantly, their aims, by way of a statement. In cases like these, building a profile rather helps to further enrich the knowledge and understanding of the phenomena, which could even allow for predictions of future behaviour and manoeuvres of the profile subject – be it an individual or an organisation. Borum was sceptical of these wider concepts of profiling's utility and suggested that there was no place for such methods in relation to terrorism. Other researchers who attempted to find a unique profile for terrorists have also had mixed success due to the variety of characters and lack of pathologies or criminal features among terrorists.<sup>84</sup>

This thesis will attempt to challenge this assumption and further will argue that profiling in relation to terrorist groups and individuals is a method that deserves far greater scholarly, as well as practical, emphasis. This reflects the belief that

---

<sup>81</sup> Merari, A. (2005) 'Suicide Terrorism', in David Lester (ed.) *Assessment, Treatment, and Prevention of Suicidal Behaviour*. John Wiley and Sons. pp. 431–454.

<sup>82</sup> Atran, S. (2003) Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science*. 299 (5612), 1534–1539.

<sup>83</sup> Borum (2004, p. 36-38).

<sup>84</sup> Ibid; for more information: Hudson (1999, p.37-39); Dean (2007, p.172-176).

‘knowledge is power’, and particularly in cases of dealing with data that could help the prevention of future acts of terrorism, it is crucial to consider it as a high priority. Understanding the mind-set and conduct of individuals or groups involved in violent acts will enable to make assumptions about their behaviour and future acts. Leadership is also a key priority, since, as Alderdice argues, the leader of any group is a strong and influential figure and thus it is necessary to understand the psychological profile of terrorist leaders, as much as it is in any form of leadership. Most leaders share similar personality characteristics, which allows for an understanding of the social aspects and the psychology of the group involved, as well as its quality and conduct.<sup>85</sup>

### **Social-Psychology Profiling of Terrorists**

Social psychology is the ‘scientific study of social human behaviour’;<sup>86</sup> it focuses on the psychology of human behaviour within social contexts. However this definition is found to be too vague, not including important aspects of human behaviour such as: values, attitudes, beliefs and opinions.<sup>87</sup> Allport’s broader definition applies to this query and describes social psychology as: ‘An attempt to understand and explain how the thought, feeling and behaviour of individuals are influenced by the actual,

---

<sup>85</sup> Alderdice, Lord (2007, p.202) *The Individual, the Group and the Psychology of Terrorism. International Review of Psychiatry*. 19 (3), 201–209; An example of the major effects of the leader’s characteristics in the ongoing Arab Israeli conflict by a Psychoanalytic Biography of the Israeli Leader Ariel Sharon and the Palestinian Leader Yasser Arafat: Falk, A. (2004, chapters 3 and 4, p.36-86) *Fratricide in the Holy Land: A Psychoanalytic View of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

<sup>86</sup> Abrams, D. & Hogg, M. A. (1998, p.8) *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. Psychology Press.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid (p. 10).

imagined or implied presence of others’.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, it has been argued that the study of human mind-set and behaviour cannot be comprehensive without its linkage to social science and human interactions.<sup>89</sup> The hindrance of social psychology is its focus on the individual interaction with the group and hence makes the study of wider group’s phenomenon difficult. However it seems that there has been immense progress in the practice of social psychology and change toward exploring wider groups in recent years.<sup>90</sup> Other criticism to this method is that it is not scientific enough and there are major difficulties in conducting experiments in relation to this study due to lack of objectivity and means to explore it. The answer to this claim was that the study of social psychology in relation to individuals and groups can be investigated scientifically by a variety of experiments that will reinforce each other or as will be elaborated in the methodology chapter of this thesis, transparency in the research allowing a clear understanding of all the aspects involved in the study of any phenomenon and further avoiding ethical barriers.<sup>91</sup> Hence it was found to be the most suitable method to enrich the knowledge of the social and psychological aspects related to the terrorist leaders’ lives.

The social-psychology profile of terrorist leaders in Israeli prisons will be assessed in this thesis through the evaluation of four main areas: 1. Social influence factors; 2. Personality characteristics; 3. Mind-set; and, 4. the leadership role. This analysis is

---

<sup>88</sup> Allport, G. W. (1968, p.3) ‘The Historical Background of Modern Psychology’, in Gardner Lindzey & Elliot Aronson (eds.) *The Handbook of Social Psychology*. 2nd edition Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co. pp. 1–80.

<sup>89</sup> McDougall, W. (2003, p.1) *An Introduction to Social Psychology*. Courier Dover Publications.

<sup>90</sup> Abrams & Hogg (1998, p.3).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid (p. 9); Lewin, K. (1939, p.868) Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology: Concepts and Methods. *American Journal of Sociology*. 44. 868–896; see chapter no. 2- Methodology, p.136-139.

based on information obtained from primary sources and scholarly work and each element will be elaborated further.

## 1. Social influence factors

Chapter three of this thesis, which also serves as the first element of the social-psychology profile, refers to the effect of the leaders' social surroundings on their life circumstances and their decision-making processes. Different kinds of studies have investigated and emphasised the significant role of social factors, such as the family, peer groups and educational institutions, from early childhood until adolescence and in fact throughout adulthood, on individual development.<sup>92</sup> Hayward and Gorman point out that the social conditions of a child will play a vital role in determining much of his or her future circumstances, such as lifestyle preferences and exposure to unpleasant work conditions, as well as income and wealth aspects.<sup>93</sup> Furthermore, socioeconomic conditions and educational achievements severely affect the preference for lifestyle behaviours such as smoking, drinking, diet and physical activity.<sup>94</sup> Another major aspect of the contribution of social factors such as family and peers on an individual's life relates to criminal activities, violence, drugs and the

---

<sup>92</sup> Examples of such research: Kahan, D. M. (1997) Social Influence, Social Meaning, and Deterrence. *Virginia Law Review*. 83 (2), 349–395; with a focus on the social influence factors and criminal attitude see: Graham, J. W. et al. (1991) Social Influence Processes Affecting Adolescent Substance Use. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*. 76 (2), 291–298; Brooks-Gunn, J. et al. (1993) Do Neighborhoods Influence Child and Adolescent Development? *The American Journal of Sociology*. 99 (2), 353–395; on educational achievements: Israel, G. D. et al. (2001) The Influence of Family and Community Social Capital on Educational Achievement. *Rural Sociology*. 66 (1), 43–68; with a focus on the effect on the person well-being: Link, B. G. & Phelan, J. (1995) Social Conditions as Fundamental Causes of Disease. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*. 35. 80–94; Montgomery, M. R & Casterline, J. B. (1996) Social Learning, Social Influence, and New Models of Fertility. *Population and Development Review*. 22. 151–175.

<sup>93</sup> Hayward & Gorman (2004, p.88), 'The Long Arm of Childhood: The Influence of Early-Life Social Conditions on Men's Mortality';

<sup>94</sup> Lynch, J. W. et al. (1997, p.809) Why Do Poor People Behave Poorly? Variation in Adult Health Behaviours and Psychosocial Characteristics by Stages of the Socioeconomic Life course. *Social Science & Medicine*. 44 (6), 809–819.

use of alcohol. Consequently, criminologists have stressed the fact that social factors are the primary determinants of crime.<sup>95</sup>

It appears that terrorism is also highly affected by social factors; as Post, Sprinzak and Danny emphasised during their research interviewing 35 terrorists in Israeli prisons, where it emerged that it was quite obvious that the most influential determinant for taking part in terrorism was the social environment of their youth. Massive family support for and involvement in terrorism was common, and the peer group was even more important, as recruitment was most likely to be through an acquaintance or a friend.<sup>96</sup> Thus, investigation of the social aspects of terrorists' lives is an indispensable task which will enable an understanding of the motivations and causes that lead these people toward committing violent acts.

Social aspects that will be discussed in this research will include: 1. details of the leaders' family social and economic status, 2. their marital and family status, 3. their experience through their adolescence, 4. their relations with their families and 5. the families' relations to terrorism, as well as 6. their perceptions towards the terrorist organisations:

### 1. Socioeconomic Status (SES):

---

<sup>95</sup> Farrington, David P. & Welsh, B. (2007, chapters 3, 4 and 5) *Saving Children from a Life of Crime: Early Risk Factors and Effective Interventions*. Oxford University Press; Loeber, R. & Stouthamer-Loeber, Magda (1986, p.31-33) Family Factors as Correlates and Predictors of Juvenile Conduct Problems and Delinquency. *Crime and Justice*. 29-149; Brooks-Gunn et al (1993, p.358-362).

<sup>96</sup> Post, J. et al. (2003, 172-174) The Terrorists in their Own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 15(1), 171-184.

A significant social factor that influences a person's development and future, and that is considered by social scientists as one of the main foundations for opportunities in life is socioeconomic status (SES). There are difficulties in determining its exact definition; whether it refers to economic position or social status.<sup>97</sup> However, it seems that SES is best defined as a coalescing of family income, parental education and occupational status and it keeps spreading as a universal pattern despite the influences of other intervening social variables such as culture or immigration.<sup>98</sup>

Most people from low socioeconomic areas suffer from disadvantages in opportunities, education and well-being.<sup>99</sup> Social economic status is found to be the basis for other intervening factors such as collective socialisation, peer-group influence and institutional capacity which together determine the prospects available to a person. In many cases, low social economic status can lead to criminal behaviour, juvenile delinquency or other kinds of anti-social behaviour.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>97</sup> Entwisle, D. R. & Astone, N. M. (1994, p.1525) Some Practical Guidelines for Measuring Youth's Race/Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status. *Child Development*. 65(6), 1521-1524; Brooks-Gunn, J. & Duncan, G. J. (1997, 188-189) The Effects of Poverty on Children. *The Future of Children*. 7 (2), 55–71; Bradley, R. H. & Corwyn, R. F. (2002, p.371-372) Socioeconomic Status and Child Development. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 53 (1), 371–399.

<sup>98</sup> White, K. R. (1982, p.462) The Relation between Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement. *Psychological Bulletin*. 91 (3), 461–481; Bradley & Corwyn (2002, p.371).

<sup>99</sup> Lynch, J. W. et al. (1997, p.809-811) Why Do Poor People Behave Poorly? Variation in Adult Health Behaviours and Psychosocial Characteristics by Stages of the Socioeconomic Life course. *Social Science & Medicine*. 44 (6), 809–819; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan (1997, 188-189.); Walpole, M. (2003, p.46) Socioeconomic Status and College: How SES Affects College Experiences and Outcomes. *The Review of Higher Education*. 27 (1), 45–73.

<sup>100</sup> Farrington David P. (1987a) 'Early Precursors of Frequent Offending: Families, Schools, and Delinquency Prevention', in Glenn C. Loury & James Q. Wilson (eds.) *From Children to Citizens: Families, Schools, and Delinquency Prevention*. 1st edition Springer. pp. 27–50; Jencks, C. & Mayer, S. E. (1990, p.116-117) 'The social Consequences of Growing Up in a Poor Neighbourhood', in L. E. Lynn Jr & M.G.H McGeary (eds.) *Inner-City Poverty in the United States*. DC: National Academies Press. pp. 111–185; Heimer, K. (1997) Socioeconomic Status, Subcultural Definitions, and Violent Delinquency. *Social Forces*. 75 (3), 799–833; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan (1997, P.190-191); Bradley and Corwyn (2002, 377-378).



Johnstone<sup>101</sup> detailed the "*relative deprivation*" model which deals with the impact of social surroundings on a person's life, referring to a high social status community in a mixed area as a hindrance for those who do not share the same privileged status. In these areas, the less fortunate in the community suffer from a low social economic status, feel provoked by their affluent neighbours and develop the need to create a self-deviant and criminal subculture in order to resist this injustice and provocation.

Furthermore, since the 'birth of international terrorism' in 1968, as Hoffman<sup>102</sup> termed it, when Palestinian terrorist groups began to hijack aeroplanes in Europe in an attempt to promote their goals, and even more intensively after the terrorist attack on the US in September 2001, other researchers have tried to investigate whether there is a direct causal link between low socioeconomic status and participation in terrorism; while both concepts are strongly related to participation in crime in general.<sup>103</sup> In addition, Berrebi<sup>104</sup> argues that it is reasonable to correlate varied research of economic theories related to crime<sup>105</sup> or to suicide<sup>106</sup> and even more possibly to

---

<sup>101</sup> Johnstone, J. W. C. (1978, p.49-72) Social Class, Social Areas and Delinquency. *Sociology and Social Research*. 63. 49–77.

<sup>102</sup> Hoffman (2006, p. 178).

<sup>103</sup> Atran, S. (2003, p.1536-1537) Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science*. 299 (5612), 1534–1539.  
 Maleckova, J. (2005) Impoverish Terrorists: Stereotype or Reality?' in Tore Bjørge (ed.) *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*. Routledge. pp. 33–43; Newman (2006, p.749-772), Exploring the 'Root Causes' of Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 29, 749-772; Pilat, J.F. (2009) The causes of terrorism. *Organisational Transformation and Social Change*. 6 (2), 171–182; Taspinar, O. (2009, p.75-86) Fighting Radicalism, not 'Terrorism': Root Causes of an International Actor Redefined. *SAIS Review*. 29 (2), 75–86; for more information about crime and its relation to terrorism: Shelley, L. I. & Picarelli, J. T. (2002, p. 305-318) Methods not Motives: Implications of the Convergence of International Organized Crime and Terrorism. *Police Practice and Research*. 3 (4), 305–318; Makarenko, T. (2004) The Crime–Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism. *Global Crime*. 6 (1), 129–145; Bovenkerk, F. & Abou Chakra, B. (2006) 'Terrorism and Organised Crime', in Alex P. Schmid (ed.) *Forum on Crime and Society*. United Nations Publications. pp. 3-16.

<sup>104</sup> Berrebi, C. (2007, p.1) Evidence about the Link between Education, Poverty and Terrorism among Palestinians. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*. 13(1).

<sup>105</sup> Becker (1968) Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach. *The Journal of Political Economy*. 76 (2), 169–217; Witte, A. D. & Witt, R. (2000) Crime Causation: Economic Theories. *Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice*. 1-17.

participation in religious sects<sup>107</sup> with involvement in terrorism. This correlation emphasizes the assumption that terrorism, like crime, committing suicide and joining a religious sect, attracts the less fortunate and those who have much less to lose. Nonetheless, the results also point to a minimal connection between poverty, low education and participation in terrorism.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, Krueger and Maleckova<sup>109</sup> claim that over-emphasising this connection only causes a disregard for the real roots of terrorism.

Examples of such an attempt to connect social as well as economic factors with terrorism can be found in the study of Russell and Miller<sup>110</sup> in the late 1970s, which sought to establish a demographic profile of a typical terrorist from a sample of more than three hundred and fifty people engaged in terrorism. The information was gathered from newspapers and the terrorists researched were active in the period 1966-1976. They were from different parts of the world including Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America, and from different types of organisations such as the IRA, the Baader-Meinhof, and the Japanese Red Army. According to this research, the majority of the terrorists investigated came from middle or upper class families and had some university training, either as undergraduate or post-graduate students.

---

<sup>106</sup> Hamermesh, D. S. & Soss, N. M. (1974) An Economic Theory of Suicide. *The Journal of Political Economy*. 82(1), 83-98; Yang, B. et al. (1992) Sociological and Economic Theories of Suicide: a Comparison of the U.S.A. and Taiwan. *Social Science & Medicine*. 34 (3), 333-334.

<sup>107</sup> Iannaccone, L. R. (1997, p.100-116) Toward an Economic Theory of 'Fundamentalism'. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*. 153. 100-116; James III, R. N. & Sharpe, D. L. (2007) The 'Sect Effect' in Charitable Giving: Distinctive Realities of Exclusively Religious Charitable Givers. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. 66 (4), 697-726.

<sup>108</sup> Atran (2003, p.1534-1539); Krueger and Maleckova (2003, p.141-142); Maleckova (2005, p. 33-43); Neumann (2006, p.769-770); Berrebi (2007, p.3-4).

<sup>109</sup> Krueger, A. B. & Maleckova, J. (2009, p.201) 'Does Poverty Cause Terrorism?', in Jeff Victoroff & Arie W. Kruglanski (eds.) *Psychology of Terrorism: Classic and Contemporary Insights*. 1st edition New York and Hove: Psychology Press. pp. 201-210.

<sup>110</sup> Russell and Miller (1977, p.17-34).

Nasra Hassan<sup>111</sup> also found that among almost two hundred and fifty members of the most militant Palestinians groups she interviewed, the vast majority were well educated, from middle class families and held a profitable job. Furthermore, Krueger and Maleckova<sup>112</sup> concluded that well-educated and affluent people will probably be more interested and will have the means and expertise to get involved in politics, and therefore, with the right circumstances and opportunities, might decide to get involved in terrorism. Moreover, it seems that terrorist organisations prefer to recruit these types of people, who have more expertise and capabilities to implement the acts needed.

## 2. Adolescence:

The period of adolescence is the stage between childhood and adulthood, and is a very complex and dramatic phase in a person's life;<sup>113</sup> a period of developmental transition, where there is a significant change within both the individual and his social environment.<sup>114</sup> Hall is recognised as the first commentator to acknowledge this unique phase as worthy of further scientific research. He described it as a very conflicted period involving confusion between dichotomist aspects, as well as

---

<sup>111</sup> Hassan, N. (2001, p.2) An Arsenal of Believers- Talking to the 'Human Bombs'. *The New Yorker*. 19 November.

<sup>112</sup> Krueger and Maleckova (2009, p.209-210).

<sup>113</sup> Lerner, R. M. (1993, p. 1-13) 'Early Adolescence: toward an Agenda for the Integration of Research, Policy, and Intervention', in *Early Adolescence: Perspectives on Research, Policy, and Intervention*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. pp. 1-13; Lerner and Galambos (1998, p. 414-415) Adolescent Development: Challenges and Opportunities for Research, Programs, and Policies. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 49. 413-446; Dubas, J. S. et al. (2003, p.376) The Study of Adolescence during the 20th Century. *The History of the Family*. 8 (3), 375-397; Gowers, S. (2005, p.6) Development in Adolescence. *Psychiatry*. 4 (6), 6-9.

<sup>114</sup> Petersen, A. C. (1988, p.586) Adolescent Development. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 39. 583-607; Kimmel, D. C. & Weiner, I. B. (1994, p.24) *Adolescence: A Developmental Transition*. Second. Wiley; Lerner and Galambos (1998, p.414).

physical and psychological turmoil - the 'storm and stress' period.<sup>115</sup> Moreover, Hall<sup>116</sup> distinguished the importance of environmental factors during this period; elements such as peer group and family issues play a major role in affecting and shaping an adolescent's conduct and behaviour. However, the study of adolescence has gone through a remarkable change since Hall's seminal work.<sup>117</sup> By mid-century, the pattern had altered with researchers noticing more positive aspects of adolescence. Anna Freud<sup>118</sup> elaborated on Hall's theory by explaining that complexity and turmoil are necessary and influential aspects in the adolescent's normal healthy development. Furthermore Erikson<sup>119</sup> emphasises the crucial development of the person's identity during this period, particularly with regard to the development of self-determination and personal goals. Accordingly an important developmental aspect of adolescence is the aspiration towards occupational goals for the future, which are found to be strong predictors for their professional attainments as adults.<sup>120</sup> Nevertheless, Mead<sup>121</sup> asserts that it is not altogether necessary to go through turmoil and complication during adolescence; notwithstanding some inevitable difficulties, most adolescents manage to go through this transition period relatively smoothly.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>115</sup> Hall, G. Stanley (1904, vol 1, p. 555-589) *Adolescence its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. Vol. 1 and 2, 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Company. Available from: <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/2004-20104-000/> (Accessed 20 May 2011); for more information: Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen (1999, p. 317-326) Adolescent Storm and Stress, Reconsidered. *American Psychologist*. 54 (5), 317-326.

<sup>116</sup> Arnett (1999, p. 338-388); Hall (1904 vol 2, chapter XV, p. 363-448).

<sup>117</sup> Hall (1904, vol 1 and 2).

<sup>118</sup> Freud, A. (1958, p. 255-278) Adolescence. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*. 13. 255-278.

<sup>119</sup> Erikson, E. H. (1968, chapter 3, p. 91-135) Identity: Youth and Crisis. Norton. New York.

<sup>120</sup> Schoon, I. & Parsons, S. (2002, p. 263) Teenage Aspirations for Future Careers and Occupational Outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 60 (2), 262-288; Hirschi, A. & Vondracek, F. W. (2009, p. 120), Adaptation of Career Goals to Self and Opportunities in Early Adolescence. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 75(2). 120-128.

<sup>121</sup> Two researches relating to adolescence in Samoa and New Guinea: Mead, M. (1950) *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New American Library. New York; and (1953) *Growing Up in New Guinea*. New American Library. New York; two researches relating to adolescence in Samoa and New Guinea;

<sup>122</sup> For more information: Douvan, E. A. M. & Adelson, J. (1966, p.80-85) *The Adolescent Experience*. New York: Wiley; Offer and Schonert-Reichl (1992, p. 1003-1006) Debunking the Myths of Adolescence: Findings from Recent Research. *Journal of the American Academy of Child &*

Since the mid-seventies there has been a dramatic increase in the interest of scholars and researchers in the field of adolescence. The wave of new investigations and research focused on external processes such as social development, the importance of the family and the peer group, as well as the effect of the person's social surroundings in general.<sup>123</sup> These studies have established that the basic process of development in adolescence comprises both negative and positive outcomes of the transition from childhood to adulthood.<sup>124</sup> One of the negative aspects of this emotionally unstable period is its reinforcement of the probability of involvement in different criminal activities and juvenile delinquency such as: thefts, violence, vandalism and drug abuse.<sup>125</sup> Lerner and Steinberg<sup>126</sup> listed risk factors which are found to influence the potential for aggression and antisocial behaviour during adolescence such as: personality, low IQ and low educational achievement, disputed or large families as well as problematic parents, socioeconomic factors, peer groups, school and community influence. According to these researchers, those risk factors affect the immediate situation depending on situational factors as well as the presence of opportunity and victims.<sup>127</sup>

### 3. Marital and family status:

---

*Adolescent Psychiatry*. 31(6), 1003-1014; Lerner, R. M. & Steinberg, L. D. (2004, mainly parts one p. 15-155 and part two, p. 299-487) *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*. John Wiley and Sons.

<sup>123</sup> Petersen (1988); Offer and Schonert-Reichl (1992); Lerner and Galambos (1998).

<sup>124</sup> Eccles, J. et al. (1997, p. 283-320) 'The Association of School Transitions in Early Adolescence with Developmental Trajectories through High School', in J Schulenberg et al. (eds.) *Health Risks and Developmental Transitions during Adolescence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 283-320; Lerner and Galambos (1998, p.416).

<sup>125</sup> Hirschi and Hindlerland (1977, p. 572-573); Lerner and Steinberg (2004, p. 632).

<sup>126</sup> Lerner and Steinberg (2004, p. 636-646).

<sup>127</sup> For more information see also: Farrington, David P. (1987a) 'Early Precursors of Frequent Offending: Families, Schools, and Delinquency Prevention' in Glenn C. Loury & James Q. Wilson (eds.) *From Children to Citizens: Families, Schools, and Delinquency Prevention*. 1st edition. Springer. pp. 27-50; Agnew, R. (2009, parts 2 and 3) *Juvenile Delinquency- Causes and Control*. Third. New York and Oxford: Oxford university press.

Socioeconomic disadvantage can also be linked to overcrowded and large families.<sup>128</sup> Previously lack of awareness and knowledge of contraception and the inability to acquire it were considered the main reasons for this correlation. However, Freedman<sup>129</sup> suggests that the arrival of urbanisation and industrialisation allowed more people to become involved in the global world, to acquire education and general knowledge and therefore to become more aware of this issue. Yet, in more traditional and patriarchal societies, where males are dominant and women have less autonomy, in freedom of movement and financially, it is probable that there will be more desire for children and less awareness of the means to prevent pregnancy.<sup>130</sup> Caldwell<sup>131</sup> argues that among all other religions, Islam is the most patriarchal, founded on principles of male domination in the family; accordingly, there is a massively high rate of birth among Muslims.

Furthermore, there is a cultural and religious debate within Muslim society over how to define family planning within the five human action categories in Islamic legislation: obligatory, recommended, permitted, disapproved but not forbidden, or

---

<sup>128</sup> Rutter, M. (1980, chapter 4, p.201-202) *Changing Youth in a Changing Society: Patterns of Adolescent Development and Disorder*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press; Lanjouw, P. & Ravallion, M. (1995, p.1415-1416) *Poverty and Household Size*. *The Economic Journal*. 105 (433), 1415–1434; Iacovou, M. & Berthoud, R. (2006) *The economic Position of Large Families*. Available from: <http://193.129.121.133/asd/asd5/rports2005-2006/rrep358.pdf>; An interesting research report carried out by the Institute for Social and Economic Research on behalf of the Department for Work and Pensions.

<sup>129</sup> Freedman, D. S. (1963, p.415) The Relation of Economic Status to Fertility. *The American Economic Review*. 53(3), 414-426.

<sup>130</sup> Morgan, S. P. et al. (2002, p.516-517) Muslim and Non-Muslim Differences in Female Autonomy and Fertility: Evidence from Four Asian Countries. *Population and Development Review*. 29(3), 515-537.

<sup>131</sup> Caldwell, J. C. (1986, p.175-177) Routes to Low Mortality in Poor Countries. *Population and Development Review*. 12 (2), 171–220.

absolutely forbidden.<sup>132</sup> Omran explains<sup>133</sup> that, apart from worship, Islam serves as a cultural, civil and social system and therefore Islamic legislation deals with all human needs and concerns. Family planning is considered one of these basic needs and thus is dealt with sensitivity and care; therefore it is not approved of but is also not forbidden.<sup>134</sup> However, radical Islamic people contest this perception, claiming that Islam's strength is in its numbers and having children is a religious duty. Extremists even assert that contraception is a conspiracy of the West to reduce Muslim populations.<sup>135</sup> In addition, according to Hasnas<sup>136</sup> research, Muslim men collectively feel that family planning programmes are a threat to progeny and thus to the patriarchal system they grew up and believe in. Moreover, Hasna<sup>137</sup> also discovered that, among Palestinian refugees, fertility serves as means to reclaim lost honour.

In regards to marital status and terrorism, most research indicates that the majority of terrorists are single due to the difficulties of combining caring for a family with involvement in activity that requires unusual working hours and a huge risk to life.<sup>138</sup> Studying these elements forms an interesting case study published by Hoffman<sup>139</sup>, detailing the efforts made by Yasser Arafat, the former chairman of the PLO- 'Fatah', the Palestine Liberation Organisation, to eliminate one of their military branches

---

<sup>132</sup> Sachedina, Z. (1990, p.107) Islam, Procreation and the Law. *International Family Planning Perspectives*. 16(3), 111-137; Hasna, F. (2003, p.182) Islam, Social Traditions and Family Planning. *Social Policy and Administration*. 37(2), 181-197.

<sup>133</sup> Omran, A. R. (1992) *Family Planning in the Legacy of Islam*. 1st edition. Routledge; A book which is a result of a massive research project, gathering fourteen centuries (the seventh to the twentieth) of views on family formation and planning, as expressed by leading Islamic theologians and jurists.

<sup>134</sup> See also Sachedina (1990, p.182-184).

<sup>135</sup> Omran (1992, p.31).

<sup>136</sup> Hasna (2003, p.183).

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Russell and Miller (1977, p.31); Hudson (1999, p.55-59); Reinares, F. (2009, p.234-239) 'Who are the Terrorists? Analysing Changes in Sociological Profile among Members of ETA', in Jeff Victoroff & Arie W. Kruglanski (eds.) *Psychology of terrorism- Classic and Contemporary Insights*. Psychology Press New York and Hove. pp. 227-246.

<sup>139</sup> Hoffman, B. (2002) All You Need is Love- How the Terrorists Stopped Terrorism. *Atlantic Magazine*. Available from: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/12/all-you-need-is-love/2351>

called the 'Black September Organisation', during the 1970's, when they were no longer needed. Arafat decided to settle them down, giving them a good reason to not be involved in terrorism anymore. He arranged for all of them to get married and receive financial benefits; he even promised them a reward if they had a baby within a year. The project succeeded beyond expectations. The former terrorists fell in love, settled down and raised families, and later refused to go abroad even for nonviolent missions. Nevertheless, it seems that it can be different in other circumstances, as Bekker<sup>140</sup> details in his extensive report about 'jihadi' networks in Europe. He found no pattern of a particular family status among his subjects, with married, single and divorced people spread equally among the twenty-eight 'jihadi' networks he investigated. The exception was one particular network which contained only very young people who were all single at the time of their arrest.

#### 4. Relations with the family:

In the past, the concept of family was defined mainly as the individuals' biological and legal ties.<sup>141</sup> However, today, family is a broader notion perceived as the 'key socio-economic unit in society' and can apply to a group of people sharing a home and identity while experiencing their history as well as their future together.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> Bekker, E. (2006, p.32) *Jihadi Terrorists in Europe- Their Characteristics and the Circumstances in Which They Joined the Jihad: An Exploratory Study*. Clingendael: Netherland Institute of International Relations. Available from: [http://www.nbiz.nl/publications/2006/20061200\\_cscp\\_csp\\_bakker.pdf](http://www.nbiz.nl/publications/2006/20061200_cscp_csp_bakker.pdf).

<sup>141</sup> Murdock, G. P. (1949, p. 1-22). *Social Structure*. New York and Hove: Macmillan; Fitzpatrick, M. A. & Vangelisti, A. L. (1995) *Explaining Family Interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. Available from: <http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/detail?accno=ED387229> (Accessed 24 August 2011).

<sup>142</sup> Alesina, A. F. & Giuliano, P. (2009, p.117) Family Ties and Political Participation. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*. No. 15415. Available from: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w15415> (Accessed 22 March 2011); for more information: Georgas, J. et al. (1997, p.303-306) The Relationship of Family Bonds to Family Structure and Function across Cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. 28 (3), 303–320; Noller, P. & Fitzpatrick, M. A.



Furthermore, in addition to the neighbourhood and social surroundings, which was detailed in the beginning of this chapter as one of the key aspects determining a person's quality of life and opportunities, the family is the first and closest entity he encounters and thus has a vital effect on his existence.<sup>143</sup> Over time it is also likely to determine his general behaviour and the choices he will make regarding every aspect of his life such as education,<sup>144</sup> occupation,<sup>145</sup> social behaviour<sup>146</sup> and well-being.<sup>147</sup>

Hence, relations within the family and the dynamic between family members play a major role in shaping the personality and attitude of a person towards life in general and his coping abilities in particular.<sup>148</sup> Within Arab society, which is distinguished as

---

(1993, chapter 1) *Communication in Family Relationships*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall; Koerner, A. F. & Fitzpatrick, M. A. (2002, p.71) Toward a Theory of Family Communication. *Communication Theory*. 12 (1), 70–91.

<sup>143</sup> Burgess, E. W. & Locke, H. J. (1945, part 2, p. 209-239) *The family: From Institution to Companionship*. New York: American book.

<sup>144</sup> Biblarz, T. J. & Raftery, A. E. (1999) Family Structure, Educational Attainment, and Socioeconomic Success: Rethinking the Pathology of Matriarchy'. *American Journal of Sociology*. 105 (2), 321–365; Catsambis, S. (2001) Expanding Knowledge of Parental Involvement in Children's Secondary Education: Connections with High School Seniors' Academic Success. *Social Psychology of Education*. 5 (2), 149–177; Feinstein, L. et al. (2008) *Education and the family: Passing Success across the Generations*. Taylor & Francis.

<sup>145</sup> Schulenberg, J. E. et al. (1984) The Influence of the Family on Vocational Development. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 46 (1), 129–143; Hout, M. & Rosen, H. S. (1999) Self-Employment, Family Background, and Race. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*. No. 7344. Available from: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w7344> (Accessed 22 March 2011).

<sup>146</sup> Effect on social behaviour in general: Sussman, M. B. & Burchinal, L. (1962) Kin Family Network: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning. *Marriage and Family Living*. 24(3), 231-240; Georgas, et al (1997); other examples of the family effect on more specific social aspects such as marital stability: Webster, P. S. et al. (1995) Effects of Childhood Family Background on Adult Marital Quality and Perceived Stability. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 101(2), 404-432; Addiction and delinquency: Cernkovich, S. A. & Giordano, P. C. (1987) Family Relationships and Delinquency. *Criminology*. 25295; Johnson, V. & Pandina, R. J. (1991) Effects of the Family Environment on Adolescent Substance Use, Delinquency, and Coping Styles. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*. 17(1), 71-88; Yoshikawa, H. (1994) Prevention as Cumulative Protection: Effects of Early Family's Support and Education on Chronic Delinquency and its Risks. *Psychological Bulletin*. 115(1), 28-54; and also regarding to political participation: Alesina and Giuliano (2009).

<sup>147</sup> Dawson, D. A. (1991) Family Structure and Children's Health and Well-Being: Data from the 1988 National Health Interview Survey on Child Health. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 53(3), 573-584; Shucksmith, J. et al. (1995) Models of Parenting: Implications for Adolescent Well-Being within Different Types of Family Contexts. *Journal of Adolescence*. 18(3), 253-270; Brown, S. L. (2004) Family Structure and Child Well-Being: The Significance of Parental Cohabitation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 66 (2), 351–367.

<sup>148</sup> A main researched outcomes relating to the effect of family relation is delinquency, Nye conducted one of the major study in that field: Nye, F. Ivan. (1958) *Family relationships and Delinquent*

a traditional and hierarchal culture, family also plays a dominant role in a person's life by determining the person's religious, class and cultural association along with providing security and support in times of need.<sup>149</sup> Barakat<sup>150</sup> explains that the roots of the word family in Arabic (*alia* or *usra*) means 'to support' while the very concept of it reflects the shared commitment and responsibility of the family members towards the family as a whole. An example of that can be seen from the concept of 'crimes of honour'<sup>151</sup> that emphasises the impact of an act committed by one family member and the whole family affected by it. The Arab family hierarchal structure is based on sex and age; the oldest members should be respected and subordinated by the youngest as well as the females by the males. The father is positioned at the top of the pyramid, in the role of breadwinner or provider. Thus fathers have the authority in the family and expect respect and total obedience from all other members in the family. The mothers function as housewives, subordinated to their husbands and to the maintenance of the house; they also have total responsibility for the children, who accordingly are much

---

*Behaviour*. Vol. xii. Oxford, England: John Wiley; and later on Gove, W. R. & Crutchfield, R. D. (1982) The Family and Juvenile Delinquency. *Sociological Quarterly*. 23 (3), 301–319; as well as Cernkovich and Giordano (1987); and McCord, J. (1991) Family Relationships, Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Criminality. *Criminology*. 29 (3), 397–417; Examples for other general outcomes of family relationship such as coping abilities, attachments and self-identity can be found in: Bernard, M. L. & Bernard, J. L. (1983) Violent Intimacy: The Family as a Model for Love Relationships. *Family Relations*. 32 (2), 283–286; Grotevant, H. D. & Cooper, C. R. (1985) Patterns of Interaction in Family Relationships and the Development of Identity Exploration in Adolescence. *Child Development*. 56 (2), 415–428; Arditti, J. A. (1999) Rethinking Relationships between Divorced Mothers and Their Children: Capitalizing on Family Strengths. *Family Relations*. 48 (2), 109–119.

<sup>149</sup> Al-Haj, M. (1987, p.4) *Social Change and Family Processes: Arab Communities in Shefar-A'm*. 1st edition. Westview Press Inc; Haj-Yahia, M. M. (1995, p.431) Toward Culturally Sensitive Intervention with Arab Families in Israel. *Contemporary Family Therapy*. 17 (4), 429–447; Moghadam, V. M. (2004, p.137) Patriarchy in Transition: Women and the Changing Family in the Middle East. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*. 35. 137–162.

<sup>150</sup> Barakat, H. (1993, p.98) *The Arab World: Society, Culture, and State*. University of California Press.

<sup>151</sup> Crimes of honour define as sexual indiscretion by a female dishonoured her family and need to be punished by death, see Nesheiwat (2004, p.253) Honour Crimes in Jordan: Their Treatment under Islamic and Jordanian Criminal Laws. *Penn State International Law Review*. 23252; Baxi, P. et al. (2006) Legacies of Common Law: 'Crimes of Honour' in India and Pakistan. *Third World Quarterly*. 27 (7), 1239–1253.

closer to their mothers than to their fathers. Furthermore, there are strong family and kinship ties with solid bonds going back for generations.<sup>152</sup>

Significantly, as described above, Arab society leans on traditional and hierarchical values that in most cases are intensively enforced; nonetheless, it seems that Arab society is going through a process of transformation, a result of economic, education and socio-cultural changes in the world.<sup>153</sup> Al Haj<sup>154</sup> details in his research that, in the last three decades, Arab Palestinian society has been going through a social, economic, educational and cultural transition as well. Traditional practices such as prearranged marriages are being replaced by imported ones and culture values of the status and role of the family are losing their importance. Apart from modern social influences on the Arab Palestinian society mentioned above, another influential aspect on the Palestinian family is the on-going conflict with Israel since 1947.<sup>155</sup>

Most studies dealing with the effects of stress, trauma or violence experienced by children suggest that the consequences of these aspects to the development and conduct of these children as well as to the quality of their family relations are largely negative.<sup>156</sup> However, in the case of experiencing stress and trauma as an outcome of political violence, it seems that there is no definite opinion on the impact. Some

---

<sup>152</sup> Barakat (1993, p.102); Haj-Yahia (1995, p.431); Moghadam (2004, p.137-138).

<sup>153</sup> Al-Haj (1989, p.177); Laqueur, W. (1958, p.196-197) *The Middle East in Transition*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Haj-Yahia (1995, p.429); Moghadam (2004, p.152).

<sup>154</sup> Al-Haj (1989, p.177-178).

<sup>155</sup> For information about the Arab Israeli conflict: Bregman (2000, 2002) *Israel's Wars, 1947-93*. Routledge; and *Israel's Wars: a History since 1947*. Routledge; Bregman and El-Tahri (1999, 2000) *50 Years' War*. TV Books; and *Israel and the Arabs: an Eyewitness Account of War and Peace in the Middle East*. TV Books.

<sup>156</sup> Rutter, M. (1987, 316-317) Psychosocial Resilience and Protective Mechanisms. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 57 (3), 316-331; Weingarten, K. (2004, p.51) Witnessing the Effects of Political Violence in Families: Mechanisms of Intergenerational Transmission and Clinical Interventions. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*. 30 (1), 45-59; Matsakis, A. (2004, p.14-27) 'Trauma and its Impact on Families', in Donald Roy Catherall (ed.) *Handbook of Stress, Trauma, and the Family*. Routledge. pp. 12-27.

researchers have argued that, due to the brutal events that children must be exposed to during political conflicts and its severity and frequency, most children are diagnosed with various physical or mental nuisances such as: PTSD (Post traumatic stress disorder), anxiety, antisocial behaviour and other psychological and behavioural disturbances.<sup>157</sup>

On the other hand, other studies suggest that the influence of political violence on the conduct and wellbeing of children and families can be less severe than anticipated, with children developing resilience to the harsh events and circumstances.<sup>158</sup> This resilience is best explained by drawing attention to the effect of ideological commitment to the cause, social, cultural and family support, as well as the deep psychological meaning of the conflict.<sup>159</sup> In addition, in the case of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, Punamäki, Qouta and El-Sarraj,<sup>160</sup> detail that Palestinian children gain support and admiration from their families, especially from their mothers, due to their participation in the political conflict. They also experience mutual understanding of the importance and meaning of the conflict, which cause the families to be united in the face of the struggle. These positive aspects related to the families are also a positive defence for these children against the trauma caused by exposure to violence. Furthermore, parents and family relations are crucial to a child's adjustment and

---

<sup>157</sup> Gibson, K. (1989, p.660-661) Children in Political Violence. *Social Science & Medicine*. 28 (7), 659–667; Baker, A. M. (1991, p.238-239) Psychological Response of Palestinian Children to Environmental Stress Associated with Military Occupation. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 4 (3), 237 – 247; Yule, W. (2002, p.160-161) Alleviating the Effects of War and Displacement on Children. *Traumatology*. 8(3), 160 –180; Qouta, S. et al. (2008, p.311) Child Development and Family Mental Health in War and Military Violence: the Palestinian Experience. *International Journal of Behavioural Development*. 32 (4), 310 –321.

<sup>158</sup> Cairns, E. & Dawes, A. (1996, 130) Children: Ethnic and Political Violence-a Commentary. *Child Development*. 67 (1), 129–139.

<sup>159</sup> Barber, B. K. (1999, 209-210) Political Violence, Family Relations, and Palestinian Youth Functioning. *Journal of Adolescent Research*. 14 (2), 206 –230; Punamäki, R. L. et al. (2001, 256-257) Resiliency factors predicting psychological adjustment after political violence among Palestinian children. *International Journal of Behavioural Development*. 25 (3), 256 –267.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

development after the conflict or traumatic events, where harmonic relations in the family and loving parents will allow the child to develop positively with fewer negative symptoms. In contrast, bad parental relations and dreadful family dynamics can make the child vulnerable to post traumatic stress symptoms.<sup>161</sup>

### 5. Social environment relations to terrorism:

Social environment is considered the composite of a person's basic survival needs, including all human interactions and circumstances as well as actual physical context such as accommodation, workplace, socioeconomic status, law and regulations in the society.<sup>162</sup> The nature and characteristics of a person's social environment, especially during childhood and adolescence, has a major role in contouring and shaping his life.<sup>163</sup> This can relate to the people who encircle the person, whether his own

---

<sup>161</sup> For more information: Garbarino, J. & Kostelny, K. (1996) The Effects of Political Violence on Palestinian Children's Behaviour Problems: A Risk Accumulation Model. *Child Development*. 67 (1), 33–45; Qouta, S. et al. (2005) Mother-Child Expression of Psychological Distress in War Trauma. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. 10 (2), 135 –156; Qouta, S. et al. (2007) Predictors of Psychological Distress and Positive Resources among Palestinian Adolescents: Trauma, Child, and Mothering Characteristics. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 31 (7), 699–717.

<sup>162</sup> Zastrow, C. H. & Kirst-Ashman, K. K. (2004, p.7) *Understanding Human Behaviour and the Social Environment*. Sixth. Belmont, CA: Thomson- Brooks/ Cole; for more information on that definition: Barnett, E. & Casper, M. (2001, p. 465) A Definition of 'Social Environment'. *American Journal of Public Health*. 91 (3), 465.

<sup>163</sup> Wilson, W. J. (1987) *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press; A remarkable book due to its effect on stimulating a whole multidisciplinary research on the social surrounding effect on a person's development, mainly during childhood and adolescence. For example: Jencks, C. & Mayer, S. E. (1990) 'The Social Consequences of Growing Up in a Poor Neighbourhood', in Laurence E. Lynn Jr & Michael G.H McGeary (eds.) *Inner-City Poverty in the United States, National Research Council*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press. pp. 111–186; Attar, B. K. et al. (1994, p. 391-400) Neighbourhood Disadvantage, Stressful Life Events and Adjustment in Urban Elementary-School Children. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*. 23. 391–400; Law, M. et al. (1996, p.9-23) The Person-Environment-Occupation Model: A Transactive Approach to Occupational Performance. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*. 63 (1), 9–23; and later on, Sampson, R. J. et al. (2002, p.443-478) Assessing 'Neighbourhood Effects': Social Processes and New Directions in Research. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 28 (1), 443–478; Roosa, M. W. et al. (2003, p.55-72) Prevention Science and Neighbourhood Influences on Low-Income Children's Development: Theoretical and Methodological Issues. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 31 (1-2), 55–72; Roosa, M. W. et al. (2010, p.567-592) Neighbourhood Disadvantage, Stressful Life Events, and Adjustment among Mexican American Early Adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*. 30 (4), 567 –592.

family,<sup>164</sup> his friends or others at school or at the area he lives in.<sup>165</sup> Furthermore it can also refer to the type and quality of the area and the institutions surrounding him such as his school, youth movements or neighbourhood.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, social environment influences and changes people throughout their life as daily basis experience whether through home, school or the neighbourhood. This process is defined as 'social influence' and is considered the main currency of all aspects relates to social life.<sup>167</sup>

An important example of social influence is mutual communication between people, which eventually creates cultural norms of beliefs and behaviour.<sup>168</sup> According to Bar-Tal, validation of beliefs as well as increasing the confidence a person holds for that belief occurs when the person knows that he shares this belief with others. In addition, the common belief causes a sense of resemblance among the group members and affects the group assurance and homogeneity, thus enhancing its efficiency of activity and decision making.<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, social norms and beliefs can serve as

---

<sup>164</sup> Grotevant, H. D. & Cooper, C. R. (1985) Patterns of Interaction in Family Relationships and the Development of Identity Exploration in Adolescence. *Child Development*. 56 (2), 415–428; Kagitcibasi, C. (1996) *Family and Human Development across Cultures: A View from the Other Side*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Available from:

<http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/detail?accno=ED410004> (Accessed 10 March 2011); Katz, Lynn Fainsilber & Woodin, E. M. (2002) Hostility, Hostile Detachment, and Conflict Engagement in Marriages: Effects on Child and Family Functioning. *Child Development*. 73 (2), 636–652.

<sup>165</sup> Dishion, T. J. et al. (1995) Antisocial Boys and Their Friends in Early Adolescence: Relationship Characteristics, Quality, and Interactional Process. *Child Development*. 66 (1), 139–151; Duncan, G. J. et al. (2001) Sibling, Peer, Neighbour, and Schoolmate Correlations as Indicators of the Importance of Context for Adolescent Development. *Demography*. 38 (3), 437–447; Kling, J. R. et al. (2007), Experimental Analysis of Neighbourhood Effects. *Econometrica*. 75 (1), 83–119.

<sup>166</sup> Brooks-Gunn, J. et al. (1993); Roosa, et al. (2003).

<sup>167</sup> Collins, B. E. (1970, p.2) *Social Psychology: Social Influence, Attitude Change, Group Processes, and Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley Pub. Co; for more information: Myers, D. G. (1999, mainly part 2, chapters 5-8) *Social Psychology*. 6th edition. McGraw-Hill College; Forgas, J. P. & Williams, K. D. (2001, mainly pages 3-22) *Social Influence: Direct and Indirect Processes*. Psychology Press.

<sup>168</sup> Schaller, M. (2001, p. 80) 'Unintended Influence, Social Evolutionary Processes in the Construction and Change of Culturally-Shared Beliefs', in Joseph P. Forgas & Kipling D. Williams (eds.) *Social influence: direct and indirect processes*. Psychology Press. pp. 77–95. For more information see one of the preliminary researches of group's norms and conformity: Sherif, M. (1936, mainly chapters 4 and 5, p. 46-88) *The Psychology of Social Norms*. Oxford, England: Harper.

<sup>169</sup> Bar-Tal, D. (2000, p.2-14) *Shared Beliefs in a Society: Social Psychological Analysis*. SAGE.

behavioural incentives mostly when the person identifies with the society and hence is interested in complying with its norms and distinctive social aspects.<sup>170</sup>

Another aspect of social influence added by Mayer and Jencks<sup>171</sup> is the 'Contagion model'. According to this concept, a person will emulate the common behaviour that surrounds him. In that sense, in rough areas which contain a large number of criminals, drunken people or drug addicts, it is likely that children in these areas will follow that behaviour. The same thing can be said of areas where the majority obey the law and respect it. Furthermore, similar processes can occur in relation to participation in politics, where the social environment can encourage or discourage a person through the characteristics and the opportunities available to become involved in politics and to take an active part in policymaking while trying to make a difference.<sup>172</sup>

Moreover, participating or disengaging in terrorism, as well as most aspects detailed above, is also found to be influenced immensely by the social environment.<sup>173</sup> In areas where there is strong support for extreme political acts and terrorism, it is likely that more people from that area will feel the need to join the political efforts and will have

---

<sup>170</sup> Christensen, P. N. et al. (2004, p. 1295-1296) Social Norms and Identity Relevance: A Motivational Approach to Normative Behaviour. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. 30 (10), 1295 –1309.

<sup>171</sup> Mayer, S. E. & Jencks, C. (1989, p.1441-1442) Growing Up in Poor Neighbourhoods: How Much Does It Matter? *Science*. 243 (4897), 1441 –1445.

<sup>172</sup> Huckfeldt, R. R. (1979, p. 579-581) Political Participation and the Neighbourhood Social Context. *American Journal of Political Science*. 23 (3), 579–592; for more information: Giles, M. W. & Dantico, M. K. (1982) Political Participation and Neighbourhood Social Context Revisited. *American Journal of Political Science*. 26 (1), 144–150; Kenny, C. B. (1992) Political Participation and Effects from the Social Environment. *American Journal of Political Science*. 36 (1), 259–267.

<sup>173</sup> Victoroff and Kruglansky (2009, sections 4 and 5); Sageman, M. (2004, p.125-135) *Understanding Terror Network*. University of Pennsylvania Press; Post, Sprinzak and Denny (2003, p. 172-174).

the opportunities to do so. della Porta<sup>174</sup> claims that joining a terrorist organisation is a social process, possibly engaged in by an individual who is well-entrenched in society. Accordingly, della Porta adds that most recruitments of members to terrorist organisations occur through personal relationships and ties such as neighbours, friends from school, cousins or even closer relatives such as siblings or partners.

Tosini<sup>175</sup> enhances the importance of the social environment by explaining the community's essential involvement in providing help such as encouraging recruitment of members from society to terrorist organisations, providing support by way of money, weapons, rewards and economic aid, as well as upholding their families' status and prestige. Furthermore, the culture along with its values and principles allows an understanding of the phenomena of taking part in extreme and violent acts whereas cultural attitude based on legitimising and supporting this kind of behaviour and beliefs causes members of the society to share these views as well.<sup>176</sup>

The Palestinian society since the beginning of the conflict with Israel in 1948 is a good example of the development of a culture based on resistance and on a daily struggle against the Israeli entity that is perceived as the main cause of the damage done to their social and political existence.<sup>177</sup> Kuttab, explains in his article about 'the profile of the stone thrower' that Palestinian children are born to a reality of refugee camps and an overriding sense of deprivation. These aspects along with cultural encouragement and support cause them to obtain a high level of political awareness as

---

<sup>174</sup> della Porta, D. (2009, p. 308-309) 'Recruitment Processes in Clandestine Political Organisation: Italian Left-Wing Terrorism', in Jeff Victoroff & Arie W. Kruglanski (eds.) *Psychology of Terrorism: Classic and Contemporary Insights*. 1st edition New York and Hove: Psychology Press. pp. 307–316.

<sup>175</sup> Tosini, D. (2007, p.673-674) *Sociology of Terrorism and Counterterrorism: A Social Science Understanding of Terrorist Threat. Sociology Compass*. 1 (2), 664–681.

<sup>176</sup> Pedahzur, A. (2005, p. 158-165) *Suicide Terrorism*. Cambridge : Polity Press.

<sup>177</sup> Haj Yahia (1995, p.430).



well as active involvement in the struggle.<sup>178</sup> Furthermore, the Palestinian social environment seems to offer strong support for joining terrorist organisations and getting involved in violent acts. Whether it is a secular or religious movement, people are strongly encouraged to join.<sup>179</sup> More severely, it is also acknowledged that there is similar support and reinforcement for suicide terrorism among this Palestinian culture; in these social surroundings, it is a normal and acceptable form of resistance.<sup>180</sup>

#### 6. Perceptions relating to the terrorist organisations:

In their research from the seventies, Russell and Miller<sup>181</sup> assert university to be the main place for recruitment by terrorist organisations. They also found the average age of recruits to be between early to their late twenties, though with some differences among the organisations. However, more contemporary studies argue that prisons are the primary source of joining terrorist organisations.<sup>182</sup> Also, according to Sageman's research on jihadi international terrorism,<sup>183</sup> most recruits to jihadi organisation were in the diaspora and not in an individual's home country, while the average age of these recruits is around twenty-five<sup>184</sup> Different findings in relation to the location of

---

<sup>178</sup> Kuttub, D. (1988, p.14-16) A Profile of the Stone Throwers. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 17 (3), 14–23; see also Barber (1999, p.207-208).

<sup>179</sup> Post, Sprinzak and Denny (2003, p. 173-174).

<sup>180</sup> Soibelman (2004, p.181-182); Pedahzur (2005, p.162-164); Moghadam (2009, p. 129-130).

<sup>181</sup> Russell and Miller (1977, p.29).

<sup>182</sup> Cuthbertson, I. M. (2004) Prisons and the Education of Terrorists. *World Policy Journal*. 21 (3), 15–22; Cilluffo, F. J. et al. (2007) Radicalisation: Behind Bars and beyond Borders. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 13(2), 113-122; Horgan, J. & Braddock, K. (2010) Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalisation Programs. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 22 (2), 267–291; Silke, Andrew (2011, chapter 9) The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism. Taylor & Francis; Neumann, P. (2010) *Prisons and Terrorism Radicalisation and De-radicalisation in 15 Countries*. Available from:

<http://icsr.info/publications/papers/1277699166PrisonsandTerrorismRadicalisationandDeradicalisationin15Countries.pdf>; Gunaratna, R. (2011) Terrorist Rehabilitation: a Global Imperative. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*. 6 (1), 65–82.

<sup>183</sup> Sageman (2004, p.92-93).

<sup>184</sup> Though the age gap between the participants was fairly big, see Sageman (2004, p.92).

recruitment were found in Bakker's study on European jihadist groups,<sup>185</sup> where he found that most of the recruits joined in their home countries and close to the individuals' families and social surroundings; this phenomena defined as 'home-grown terrorism', while the age range in this research was also of adults and reached twenty-seven. However, Silke argued for a younger age; he says that most join terrorist organisations in their early twenties.<sup>186</sup>

## 2. Personality profile

The second element which is discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis focuses on the personality characteristics of the leaders through examination of common traits among them, and an assessment of whether they possess symptoms of psychopathic personality. Allport<sup>187</sup> was the first to identify the concept of 'personality', which he described as a developed system of unique cognitive, spiritual and emotional characteristics revealed by the person throughout his life. Later, McCrae & Costa<sup>188</sup> added that personality also reveals differences between individuals by illustrating consistent patterns in people's thoughts and behaviour. Personality theorists attempt to understand behaviour as a reflection of the individual's personality; however, not all human behaviour can be explained solely by personality traits.<sup>189</sup> In relation to terrorism, Martens argues that terrorists have some characteristics in common with

---

<sup>185</sup> Bakker (2006, p. 41).

<sup>186</sup> Silke, Andrew (2008, p.105) Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadist Radicalisation. *European Journal of Criminology*. 5(1), 99 –123.

<sup>187</sup> Allport, G. W. (1931, p.368-372) What is a Trait of Personality? *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 25, 368–372.

<sup>188</sup> McCrae, R. R. & Costa, P. T. (1990, p.25) *Personality in Adulthood*. Guilford Publications.

<sup>189</sup> Ozer, Daniel J & Benet-Martínez, V. (2006, p.402) Personality and the Prediction of Consequential Outcomes. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 57, 401–421; Cervone, D. & Pervin, L. A. (2009, p.7-9), *Personality: Theory and Research*. 11<sup>th</sup> edition. Wiley.

individuals who are diagnosed with psychopathic personality.<sup>190</sup> The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV), defines people with psychopathic personality characteristics as exhibiting a pattern that regularly disregards and violates the rights of others. These behaviours are often present from a very young age. People with psychopathic personality characteristics are often aggressive and impulsive, who recklessly disregard social norms, laws and the safety of themselves and others. They also lack remorse and are indifferent or rationalising toward having hurt, mistreated or stolen from others.<sup>191</sup>

### What is Personality?

Personality derives from the Latin word ‘persona’ that means mask, which, from that sense, applies to the outgoing characteristic of a person, his public self. Other aspects of personality refer to a person’s social abilities, behaviour and common human nature.<sup>192</sup> Psychology ascribes personality to the individual as a whole, as well as the differences within him and between him and other people. Furthermore, the study of personality profoundly investigates individual behaviour as seen through the many aspects of a person’s functioning and the interaction between these different psychological processes. Although personality does not include all human behaviour

---

<sup>190</sup> Martens, W. H. J. (2004, p.45-46) The Terrorist with Antisocial Personality Disorder. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*. 4 (1), 45-56; McCauley, C. (2004, p.36) Psychological Issues in Understanding Terrorism and the Response to Terrorism’, in Chris E. Stout (ed.) *Psychology of Terrorism: Coping with the Continued Threat*. Greenwood Publishing Group. pp. 33–67; Borgeson, K. & Valeri, R. (2009, p.35) *Terrorism in America*. Jones & Bartlett Learning.

<sup>191</sup> American Psychiatric Association (2000, p.701) *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV*. Fourth. American Psychiatric Pub.

<sup>192</sup> Kluckhohn, C. & Murray, H. A. (1953, p.53) ‘Personality Formation: The Determinants’, in Clyde Kluckhohn et al. (eds.) *Personality in nature, society, and culture*. 2nd edition New York: Knopf. pp. 53–67; Hergenhahn, B. R. & Olson, M. (1999, p.1-2 and also p.193) *An Introduction to Theories of Personality*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Prentice Hall.

there are only a few aspects related to individual conduct that do not reflect an individual's personality.<sup>193</sup>

Gordon Allport, a pioneer in the field of personality psychology, argued that personality is in fact what the person really is. Personality is a developed system of unique cognitive, spiritual and emotional features that is revealed from the behaviour of the person, at any time in his life. Allport also referred to personality traits as variables or as the basic unit of personality.<sup>194</sup> Respectively, other personality psychologists defined personality primarily in terms of features, which are consistent observable behaviours, or as a dimension of individual differences which tend to mirror the consistent pattern of thoughts, feelings and actions.<sup>195</sup> Furthermore, Allport added that there are additional dimensions, such as cognitive structures, motives and self-perception, values and philosophies of life, which also are required for an adequate description of the person and his personality.<sup>196</sup>

Nonetheless, while there is no clear and acceptable definition of personality, there are some common interpretations that relate to the internal conduct of a person. This also consists of the way he interacts with his social environment, what are his individual significant characteristics and how it can be similar or different from other people.<sup>197</sup>

---

<sup>193</sup> Pervin, L. A. (1975, p.2-3) *Personality- theory, assessment and research*. 2nd edition. Wiley; Buss, D. M. (1999, p.31-32) 'Human Nature and Individual Differences: The Evolution of Human Personality', in Lawrence A. Pervin & Oliver P. John (eds.) *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*. 2nd edition New York and London: Guilford Press. pp. 31–56.

<sup>194</sup> Allport, G.W. (1931, p.367-372) What is a Trait of Personality? *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 25, 368–372.

<sup>195</sup> McCrae, R. R. & Costa, P. T. (1990, p.22-32) *Personality in Adulthood*. Guilford Publications. Winter, D. G. (2005, p.565) Things I've Learned about Personality from Studying Political Leaders at a Distance. *Journal of Personality*. 73 (3), 557–584.

<sup>196</sup> Allport, G. W. (1937, p.552-558) *Personality: a Psychological Interpretation*. Vol. xiv. Oxford, England: Holt.

<sup>197</sup> Pervin (1975, p.2-3); Buss (1999, p.31).

Pervin suggested a broad definition of personality which he found to be suitable and accordingly stated that 'Personality represents those structural and dynamic properties of individual or individuals as they reflect themselves in characteristic responses to situation, and in other words- personality represents the enduring properties of individuals that tend to separate them from other individuals'.<sup>198</sup> However, it seems that over the decades the number of personality traits and the scales that have been devised to measure them were growing exponentially, causing confusion and difficulty in the study of this field and a need arose for a more general and universally accepted classification system. The five-dimensional theory of personality ('The Big Five') was developed to meet this need. It does not represent a specific theory but is gleaned from the analysis of the ways in which people describe themselves and others.<sup>199</sup>

#### The 'Big five'- The five factor model of personality:

The five-factor theory of personality is based on the assumption that there are five individual characteristics which are highly significant in interaction between people.

The five dimensions are:

1. Extraversion- the ability to engage in socialisation, demonstrating activism, being talkative, energetic and assertive.
2. Agreeableness- collaboration capability, demonstrating flexibility, good nature and kindness.

---

<sup>198</sup> Pervin (1975, p.3).

<sup>199</sup> Goldberg, L. R. (1971, p.293-336) 'A Historical Survey of Personality Scales and Inventories', in P. McReynolds (ed.) *Advances in psychological assessment*. Palo Alto, CA: Science and Behaviour Books. pp. 293-336; John, Oliver P. & Srivastava, S. (1999, p.102-103) 'The Big Five Trait Taxonomy: History, Measurement and Theoretical Perspectives', in Lawrence A. Pervin & Oliver P. John (eds.) *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*. Second Guilford Press.

3. Conscientiousness- demonstrating total reliability, responsibility and being orderly.
4. Emotional stability- total relaxation, demonstrated lack of neuroticism and an ability not to become easily upset.
5. Openness or Intellect- vivid imagination, originality and an open and independent mind.

The name of the theory- 'The big five'- is not intended to show how big each dimension is in its importance, but how wide it is. Furthermore, the theory does not attempt to argue that the differences between people can be reduced to five personality traits alone, but rather that the five personality dimensions represent a high level of abstraction, and that each dimension summarizes a wide number of personality traits very clearly and specifically.<sup>200</sup> However, other researchers criticized this theory by arguing that it suffers from lack of accuracy within the dimensions as well as lack of consistency among the scholars who advocate it.<sup>201</sup> Some even suggested expanding the model by adding other categories or traits; Hogan and

---

<sup>200</sup> Digman, J. M. (1990, p.422-424) Personality Structure: Emergence of the Five-Factor Model. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 41 (1), 417–440; John, Oliver P. (1990, p. 71-73) 'The 'Big Five' Factor Taxonomy: Dimensions of Personality in the Natural Language and in Questionnaires', in Lawrence A. Pervin (ed.) *Handbook of Personality: theory and research*. New York and London: The Guilford Press. pp. 66–100; Costa Jr, P. T. & McCrae, R. R. (1992, p. 653) Four Ways Five Factors are Basic. *Personality and Individual Differences*. 13 (6), 653–665; Barrick, M. R. & Mount, M. K. (1992, p.3-5) The Big Five Personality Dimensions and Job Performance: A Meta-Analysis. *Personnel Psychology*. 44 (1), 1–26; John and Srivastava (1999, p. 105).

<sup>201</sup> Waller, N. G. & Ben Porath, Y. S. (1987) Is It Time for Clinical Psychology to Embrace the Five-Factor Model of Personality? *American Psychologist*. 42 (9), 887–889; Livneh, H. and Livneh, C. (1989) The Five-Factor Model of Personality: Is Evidence of Its Cross-Measure Validity Premature? *Personality and Individual Differences*. 10 (1), 75–80; Briggs, S. R. (1989, p.248) The Optimal Level of Measurement for Personality Construct', in David M. Buss & Nancy Cantor (eds.) *Personality Psychology: Recent Trends and Emerging Directions*. Springer-Verlag. pp. 246–260; Pervin, L. A. (1994) A Critical Analysis of Current Trait Theory. *Psychological Inquiry*. 5 (2), 103–113.

Hogan, for example, proposed splitting the aspect of extraversion into ambition and sociability.<sup>202</sup>

Pervin<sup>203</sup> noticed in the early 1990s that many studies on personality traits focused on differences between people and not on the people themselves. He therefore established that there was less reference in the literature to personality profile and to different typologies of individuals. The ‘five factors’; model of personality has raised interest in the issue of personality typologies or profile in a manner in which personality traits are now gathered together in a consistent and diagnostic pattern of different types of people who share the same basic personality profile.

#### Personality typologies and profiles:

There exists a broad general consensus among psychologists who research the structure of the human personality that an individual’s core personality does not undergo significant changes over time. Although certain aspects of personality may change, its central features remain more or less stable.<sup>204</sup> This implies that delinquents, for example, are not likely to change their basic personality profiles, which means that they will probably repeat the same crimes and in a similar manner.<sup>205</sup> This assumption led researchers to isolate specific personality traits in

---

<sup>202</sup> Hogan, Joyce & Hogan, Robert (1989, p.274) How to Measure Employee Reliability. *Journal of Applied Psychology* April 1989. 74 (2), 273–279.

<sup>203</sup> Pervin (1994, p.110).

<sup>204</sup> Buss, A. H. (1988, p.40) *Personality: Evolutionary Heritage and Human Distinctiveness*. L. Erlbaum Associates; Costa Jr., P. T. & McCrae, R. R. (1986, p.407-423) Personality Stability and Its Implications for Clinical Psychology. *Clinical Psychology Review*. 6 (5), 407–423; Funder, D. C. (1991, p.33) Global Traits: A Neo-Allportian Approach to Personality. *Psychological Science*. 2 (1), 31–39.

<sup>205</sup> Block, J. (1971, p.267-268) *Lives through Time*. Berkeley, CA: Bancroft Books; Pinizzotto, A. & Finkel, N. (1990, p.217) Criminal Personality Profiling. *Criminal Personality Profiling. Law and Human Behaviour*. 14 (3), 215–233; Holmes & Holmes (1996, p.43).

different groups. It sought to create a theory of personality typologies which intends to construct the basic categorization of human nature, referring to the diagnostic categories of individuals who share the same attributes and personality.<sup>206</sup> A very well-known study of personality typology was conducted by Block and is titled 'Lives through time'; it examined the types of personalities exhibited from adolescence to adulthood. Block referred to this as 'personality development' and claimed that a limited number of different typologies of personality are likely to develop due to the individual personality traits and environmental conditions of people. Indeed, he found five typical personality types of men and six types of women.<sup>207</sup> Another example of this theory can be found in a study conducted by Kimhi and Even, which deals with suicide bombers and further explores four types of bombers: the religious-fanatical, the exploited, the psychological-avenger and the fanatic-national. Each has a central characteristic motive and usually a unique course that brings him to the suicide mission.<sup>208</sup>

Typology can also be based on one personality trait which is common in a specific group of people.<sup>209</sup> However, building a profile is a different and more complex task that requires a greater number of characteristics and features, or in many cases even different typologies. Law enforcement authorities are heavily reliant on building

---

<sup>206</sup> One of the famous type indicators who classify people in to 16 personality types: Myers, I. B. & McCaulley, M. H. (1985) *A Guide to the Development and the Use of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator*. Palo Alto, Calif: Consulting Psychologists Press; Other classifications: Ozer, Daniel J & Gjerde, P. F. (1989, p.483-507) Patterns of Personality Consistency and Change from Childhood through Adolescence. *Journal of Personality*. 57 (2), 483–507; Robins, R. W. et al. (1996, p.157-171) Resilient, Over controlled, and under controlled Boys: Three Replicable Personality Types. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 70 (1), 157–171.

<sup>207</sup> Block, J. (1971) *Lives through Time*. Berkeley, CA: Bancroft Books.

<sup>208</sup> Kimhi, S. & Even, S. (2004, p.815-840) Who Are the Palestinian Suicide Bombers? *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16 (4), 815–840.

<sup>209</sup> Robins et al. (1996, p.157).



comprehensive psychological profiles of offenders in order to trace the perpetrators of various crimes, including sex offenders, serial killers and other major criminals.<sup>210</sup>

#### Criminal personality:

Criminal personality, or as it is also termed, the ‘antisocial personality’, is defined by DSM-IV, which is the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, as a type of a person with a strong tendency for negative and destructive actions from an early age, including actions against the law which consequently lead to prison. Another criterion of criminal personality is a lack of responsibility, expressed in repeated failures to keep a steady job or meet various financial obligations. In addition, psychopathic personality is characterized by a lack of empathy, low self-esteem and delinquency from an early age and throughout adulthood, in addition to aggressiveness, impulsiveness and lack of remorse for actions.<sup>211</sup>

In their study on crime and personality, Eysenck and Gudjonsson<sup>212</sup> state that antisocial individuals and/or criminals share a certain behaviour that can be characterized as standing at the other end of pro-social altruistic behaviour. They argue for this model while acknowledging the broad diversity of types of criminals that exists, mainly due to the nature of the crime committed. Furthermore, criminal personality related to several dimensions of personality such as extraversion, neuroticism, nonconformity, impulsiveness and risk taking. Yochelson and

---

<sup>210</sup> Holmes & Holmes (1996, p.1-7); Jackson and Bekerian (1997, p.2-3).

<sup>211</sup> American Psychiatric Association (2000, p.701-705) *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV*. Fourth. American Psychiatric Pub.

<sup>212</sup> Eysenck, Hans Jürgen & Gudjonsson, G. H. (1989, chapter 3, p.43-88) *The Cause and Cures of Criminality*. Springer.

Samenow<sup>213</sup> also identified other traits of criminals, such as low self-esteem, feeling worthless, stupid and a total failure as well as deceitfulness; seeing lying as a natural and essential aspect in their daily life.<sup>214</sup>

However, there is some confusion regarding the concept of criminal or antisocial personality with the other two terms which relate to it – psychopathic and sociopathic personality. Some scholars view all three as different names for the same phenomenon. They argue that all three are a reflection of an antisocial behaviour which is the result of some abnormality or deficiency.<sup>215</sup> Others distinguish each one as a distinct disorder, arguing that though all three share the same patterns of deviant personality, their origins and formation are not the same. In this sense, a sociopathic personality is the result of a social defect while a psychopathic personality is the result of biological/genetic neurological defects. Hare, for example argued that the difference between psychopathic personality and anti-social personality disorder is that psychopaths possess certain traits that can potentially – but not necessarily – lead them to criminal behaviour; while people diagnosed with anti-social personality disorder are in fact characterised by their criminal behaviour.<sup>216</sup>

---

<sup>213</sup> Yochelson, S. & Samenow, S. E. (1976, p. 21-25) *The Criminal Personality: A Profile for Change*. Vol. 1. New York: J. Aronson.

<sup>214</sup> For more information on crime and personality: Caspi et al (1994, p. 164-165).

<sup>215</sup> In his preface to the fifth edition of his book: Cleckley, H. (1976, p. viii) *The Mask of Sanity*. 5th Revised edition. Mosby. Cleckley explains that he is familiar with the term changes during the years but see it as synonym of the same disorder that he prefer to term as psychopathy; as well as Blackburn, R. (1988, p.505) On Moral Judgements and Personality Disorders- The Myth of Psychopathic Personality Revisited. *British Journal of Psychiatry*. 153. 505–512.

<sup>216</sup> Hare, R. D. (1993, p. 99-104) *Without Conscience- the Disturbing World of the Psychopaths among Us*. Pocket Books; as well as (1996b, p. 1-2) Psychopathy and Antisocial Personality Disorder: A Case of Diagnostic Confusion. *Psychiatric Times*. 13 (2), 1–6; See also in the introduction to his book: Lykken, D. T. (1995, p. vii) *The antisocial personalities*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Available from: <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=26032642> (Accessed 29 May 2012).

Hare created a diagnostic tool to diagnose psychopathy titled 'Hare Psychopathy Checklist – Revised' (PCL-R)', which was first described by him in 1980,<sup>217</sup> revised in 1985 and published in 1991.<sup>218</sup> The PCL-R contains twenty clinical rating scale items that can be filled by information gathered from interviews as well as personal files and other relevant resources. This tool provides estimation on whether an individual matches the profile of a psychopath. It has been applied to offenders as well as forensic patients in different health and correction institutions.<sup>219</sup> Opponents of this tool argued that it merged two distinct concepts of personality disorder and criminal behaviour, in a sense that it puts criminal behaviour as the centre of psychopathy and cause confusion in thinking of criminals and psychopathy as necessarily linked.<sup>220</sup>

In 1994, a shorter version containing twelve items of the PCL-R was developed by Hart and his colleagues to be used as a predictor of violence among individuals with mental disorders. It was called the Hare Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version (PCL:SV). It correlates highly with the PCL-R and is used both in forensic institutions and independently as an assessment tool for psychopathy in noncriminal populations.<sup>221</sup> Due to these characteristics of focusing on violent aspects which are more relevant to terrorists as well as their possible use among noncriminal and other

---

<sup>217</sup> Hare, R. D. (1980, p.111-119) A Research Scale for the Assessment of Psychopathy in Criminal Populations. *Personality and Individual Differences*. 1 (2), 111–119.

<sup>218</sup> Hare (1991).

<sup>219</sup> Hare (1996a, p.30); See also Johansson, P. et al. (2002, p. 81-83) On the Operationalization of Psychopathy: Further Support for a Three-Faceted Personality Oriented Model. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*. 106 (s412), 81–85.

<sup>220</sup> Cooke, D. J. et al. (2007, p.39-50) Understanding the Structure of the Psychopathy Checklist – Revised An Exploration of Methodological Confusion. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*. 190 (49), 39–50; Lilienfeld, S. O. (1994, p.17-38) Conceptual Problems in the Assessment of Psychopathy. *Clinical Psychology Review*. 14 (1), 17–38.

<sup>221</sup> Hart, S. et al. (1994, p. 81-98) 'Psychopathy as a Risk Marker for Violence: Development of a Screening Version of the Revised Psychopathy Checklist', in John Monahan & Henry J. Steadman (eds.) *Violence and Mental Disorder: Developments in Risk Assessment*. University of Chicago Press. pp. 81–98; Hart, S. et al. (1995) *The Hare Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version*. Toronto: Multi-Health Systems; Hare (1996b, p. 2).

diverse populations, the PCL-SV was found to be more relevant to be used in this type of research that deals with terrorism and its results will be detailed later in this chapter.

Another important link between Hare's research and this study is Hare's acknowledgment that-

It is not uncommon for psychopaths to emerge as 'patriots' and 'saviours' in a society experiencing social, economic and political upheaval... Wrapt in the flag they enrich themselves by callously exploiting ethnic, cultural or racial tension and grievances.<sup>222</sup>

Accordingly, studies relating to the personality and characteristics of terrorists might have some interesting implications regarding the understanding of societies which face this phenomenon and confront it. Consequently, the group of interviewees who participated in this study see themselves as idealists and patriots who are involved in violent activities due to the circumstances their society is facing, as well as national and social grievances. Therefore there might be a strong link between this group and Hare's last statements that should be further explored.

#### Terrorist personality:

In relation to terrorism, the isolation of personality traits shared by terrorists was found to be a difficult task, and the attempts to create a terrorist personality profile were generally unsuccessful. Furthermore, there is no proof of the claim that such a

---

<sup>222</sup> Hare (1996a, p.26).

profile exists and no indication was found of a “typical terrorist personality” as the terrorists’ personalities and traits were found to be as varied as those of ordinary individuals.<sup>223</sup> Since the mid-seventies studies that related to the psychology of terrorism developed immensely and further investigated the motives and behaviour of individuals who engaged in terrorist activities. Different researchers tried to isolate specific personality disorders and even tried to find a correlation between them and terrorists.<sup>224</sup> Where primary studies associated terrorist personality with psychopathic characteristics<sup>225</sup> while others have found fewer relations between the two and further discovered more similarities with the general ‘normal’ personality types.<sup>226</sup> The present study was aided by some of these studies with regard to their reference to certain personality traits that are part and parcel of personality disorders. However, the characteristics projected by the interviewees in some cases led to similar results, while in other cases they led to different results, as will be detailed later.

Martens found a correspondence between several personality traits that were shared between terrorists and individuals with antisocial personalities. He detailed characteristics such as manipulateness, irresponsibility and deficient behavioural

---

<sup>223</sup> Hudson (1999, p.37); Borum (2004, p.35-36); Horgan, J. (2008b) ‘The Search for the Terrorist Personality’, in Andrew Silke (ed.) *Terrorists, Victims and Society*. John Wiley & Sons Ltd. pp. 1–27. Available from: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9780470713600.ch1/summary> (Accessed 9 June 2012)

<sup>224</sup> Post, J. M. (1984) Notes on a Psychodynamic Theory of Terrorist Behaviour. *Terrorism*. 7 (2), 241–256; as well as (1990, p. 25-40) ‘Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist Behaviour as a Product of Psychological forces’, in Walter Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Cambridge University Press; Taylor, M. (1988) *The Terrorist*. Brassey’s Defence Publishers; Horgan, J. (2005) *The Psychology of Terrorism*. Routledge; Miller, L. (2006b) The Terrorist Mind II- Typologies, Psychopathologies, and Practical Guidelines for Investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 50 (3), 255–268.

<sup>225</sup> Cooper, H. H. A. (1977, p.16-32; 1978, p.253-262.) What is a Terrorist: A Psychological Perspective. *Legal Medical Quarterly*. 1. 16–32; Psychopath as Terrorist. *Legal Medical Quarterly*. 2. 253–262; Kellen, K. (1979) *Terrorists- What are they Like? How some Terrorists Describe their World and Action*. Available from: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA483788>.

<sup>226</sup> Ruby, C. L. (1992a, p.15-26) Are Terrorists Mentally Deranged? *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*. 2 (1), 15–26; Silke, Andrew. (1998, p.51-69) Cheshire-cat logic: The recurring theme of terrorist abnormality in psychological research. *Psychology, Crime & Law*. 4 (1), 51–69.

inhibitions, which he found to be characteristics common to both individuals with antisocial personality disorder and to terrorists.<sup>227</sup>

As mentioned above, information is scarce about the leaders of terrorist organisations. A question that arises from time to time is whether they are criminals in disguise, meaning that they have delinquent personalities but choose to engage in a more glorified criminal activity; for example, smuggling weapons and ammunition instead of drugs or other goods, or killing for a sacred political purpose rather than as a part of criminal activity. It is easy to demonstrate the similarities and differences between criminal activities and terrorism. Thus the question of whether terrorist leaders have psychopathic personalities is a very relevant one. Further to general understanding of the leader's personality, this research addresses the query related to the aspect of psychopathic personality and its relation to the terrorist leaders, by using Hare's Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version (PCL-SV), which is a 12-item clinical rating scale for diagnosis of psychopathic personality.<sup>228</sup>

### 3. **Mind-set**

The fifth chapter in this thesis and the third element of the leaders' profile refers to the leaders' beliefs, attitudes and perceptions towards general issues, which allows an insight into their minds. No person is neutral towards what surrounds him, whether it is his family, his job, the place he lives in or the food he eats. As a human being, one

---

<sup>227</sup> Martens, W. H. J. (2004, p.48-49) The Terrorist with Antisocial Personality Disorder. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*. 4 (1), 45-56.

<sup>228</sup> Hare, R. D. (1991) *The Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R)*. Toronto, Ontario: Multi-Health Systems; (1996a) Psychopathy. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 23 (1), 25 –54. See appendix no. 6: PCL-SV item description, p. 354-356.

always evaluates one's environment.<sup>229</sup> Fishbein claimed that a person holds a range of beliefs, whether negative or positive, towards any given object. These beliefs can be interpreted as different characteristics, attributes, values and goals associated with that object. In addition, the stronger these beliefs are, the greater effect they have on the attitude shown towards the object.<sup>230</sup> Furthermore, these beliefs and the perspectives of the individual lead to a certain attitude, which was defined by Allport as a 'mental state of readiness'.<sup>231</sup> Accordingly, another aspect of the relationship between beliefs and attitudes is its effect on the individual's behaviour. A person will engage in any given behaviour due to an ordered delineation of beliefs, attitudes and behavioural intentions.<sup>232</sup>

#### Mind-set/ General Perceptions:

Why is it essential to know the mind-sets of others and the way that they think?

Philosophers have always been intrigued by the human mind-set and the ways in which people contemplate their worldview. Various theories have been developed to try and explain how people interpret different aspects of reality in order to deepen the knowledge related to human learning abilities and development.<sup>233</sup> Edmund Husserl,

---

<sup>229</sup> Wilson, T. D. et al. (2000, p.101) A Model of Dual Attitudes. *Psychological Review*. 107(1), 101-126.

<sup>230</sup> Fishbein, M. (1965, p.109-114) 'A Consideration of Beliefs, Attitudes, and Their Relationships', in I. D Steiner & M Fishbein (eds.) *Current Studies in Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, pp.107-120; for more information on beliefs and attitudes see: Eiser, J. R. (1997, p.3-6) 'Attitudes and Beliefs', in Andrew Baum et al. (eds.) *Cambridge Handbook of Psychology, Health, and Medicine*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 3-6.

<sup>231</sup> Allport, G. W. (1935, p.810) 'Attitudes', in C Murchison (ed.) *A Handbook of Social Psychology*. Worcester, MA: Clark University Press. pp.798-844.

<sup>232</sup> Fishbein, M. & Ajzen, I. (1975, p.387-389) *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behaviour: an Introduction to Theory and Research*. Addison-Wesley: Reading, MA.

<sup>233</sup> Husserl, E. (1931) *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*. J.H Muirhead (ed.). New York: The Macmillan Company; Schütz, A. (1967) *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Northwestern University Press.

one of the significant philosophers of the twentieth century was a leading founder of the research of *Phenomenology* which is the study of the impression an object leaves when it is going through the human mind. According to Husserl, the individual defines and limits the objective world through his own mind and perception which is based on his life experiences.<sup>234</sup> Another field of research seems to articulately relate to peoples conceptions is the field of *Phenomenography* which was initiated by Marton<sup>235</sup> during the late twentieth century and aimed to describe and compare peoples' conceptions relating to general social surroundings in order to gain more knowledge about the way people learn. According to Merton- "A careful account of the different ways people think about phenomena may help uncover conditions that facilitate the transition from one way of thinking to a qualitatively "better" perception of reality."<sup>236</sup>

Moreover, understanding the human mind-set is also one of the main aspects in the theory of criminal profiling, that contributes significantly to the analysis of a wider social-psychological profile. Correspondingly, this profile can lead to the understanding of the conduct and behaviour of an offender and to go even further, the information available might even allow to predict his, hers or in case of a group, even their behaviour.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>234</sup> Husserl, E. & Hardy, L. (1999, p.33-40) *The Idea of Phenomenology*. Springer; Moran, D. (2005, p.1-2) *Edmund Husserl: Founder of Phenomenology*. Polity.

<sup>235</sup> Marton, F. (1981, 1986), in his two articles: Phenomenography ? Describing Conceptions of the World Around Us. *Instructional Science*. 10 (2), 177–200; and 'Phenomenography: A Research Approach to Investigating Different Understanding of Reality. *Journal of Thought*. 21 (3), 28–49; for more information: Bruner, J. (1991, p. 1) The Narrative Construction of Reality. *Critical Inquiry*. 18 (1), 1–21; Svensson, L. (1997, p.162-163) Theoretical Foundations of Phenomenography. *Higher Education Research & Development*. 16 (2), 159–171; Säljö, R. (2006, p.174-176) Talk as Data and Practice -A Critical Look at Phenomenographic Inquiry and the Appeal to Experience. *Higher Education Research & Development*. 16 (2), 173–190.

<sup>236</sup> Merton (1986, p.33).

<sup>237</sup> Holmes and Holmes (1996, p.3-7).



In his book *From the terrorists' point of view: what they experience and why they come to destroy*, Moghaddam<sup>238</sup> advocated the importance of listening and understanding the viewpoints of terrorists, which can lead to an acquirement of better and sufficient ways of dealing with terrorist threat. Furthermore, the broad field of the social psychology of terrorism that was exposed by various researchers; most are mentioned widely in this thesis,<sup>239</sup> strongly endorses the importance of a study of the mind-set which could lead to the prediction of behaviour and in that sense could allow for the prevention or the occurrence of violent events. As Victoroff and Kruglanski clearly assert - "Terrorism is applied psychology. It is literally the application of the knowledge about others' minds - knowing what others are likely to dread - to guide the behaviour of some aggressors in a conflict."<sup>240</sup> One of the important viewpoints of terrorists which allow a deep understanding in to their mind set and motives is their rationalisations for carrying out violent acts. This aspect will be detailed further.

#### Rationalisations for carrying out the terrorist acts-

##### *Criminals' neutralisation techniques:*

In order to understand deviant behaviour, researchers have invested in studying and analysing the offenders' attitudes, motives and conduct while theorising on these aspects and their possible influence on predicting criminal behaviour and hence reducing it. Accordingly, it has been found that one factor most offenders found unbearable is a sense of guilt and therefore offenders must have well prepared

---

<sup>238</sup> Moghaddam, F. M. (2006, p.2) *From the Terrorists' Point of View: What they Experience and why they come to Destroy*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

<sup>239</sup> Hudson (1999); Crenshaw (2000); Stout (2002); Horgan (2005); Post (2007); Borum (2007); Victoroff and Kruglanski (2009).

<sup>240</sup> Victoroff and Kruglanski (2009, p.1).

rationalisations and justifications for their acts in order to avoid this pain.<sup>241</sup> One of the preliminary researchers to explain criminal behaviour is Sutherland,<sup>242</sup> who suggested that criminality is a technique that can be learned, and furthermore he argued that criminals must learn not only how to commit crimes but also how to justify their actions by using motives, attitudes and rationalisations in favour of it. Sykes and Matza, elaborated on this theory, which according to them was too limited as it generalised all criminals as lacking any sense of indignity and regret towards their criminal acts. Thus they went on to argue that criminals use varied justifications – which are better known as rationalisations, to protect themselves from this guilt and shame. They named this theory the *neutralization theory* due to the neutralising of guilt from the criminal act and which allowed the criminals to commit crimes without the nuisance of feeling blame for it.<sup>243</sup>

Accordingly, Sykes and Matza have suggested five main techniques of neutralisation- the first one is the *denial of responsibility* towards the deviant acts where the offender blames other people or occurrences who might affect his life badly. The second technique deals with the *denial of injury*, as to the offender's interpretation of whether an injury actually occurred; meaning that the offender is not aware of the consequences of the act, for example stealing from rich people or vandalizing public

---

<sup>241</sup> Armstrong, J. (2007, p.2) 'Getting the Best and Reducing the Worst in How Humans Act- Myth Busting & Momentum Building', in *CRU Conference*. February 2007 Available from: <http://www.socialrolevalorization.com/articles/armstrong/cru-conference-paper-feb-2007.pdf>.

<sup>242</sup> Sutherland, E. H. (1947) *Principles in Criminology*. Philadelphia: Lippincott; as well as his more recent book: (1973, p.8-10) *On Analysing crime*. Karl F. Schuessler (ed.). University of Chicago Press; For more information regarding Sutherland theory: Sutherland, E. H. et al. (1995) 'The Theory of Differential Association', in Nancy J. Herman (ed.) *Deviance: A Symbolic Interactionist Approach*. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 64–71; Reed, M. D. & Rountree, P. W. (1997) Peer Pressure and Adolescent Substance Use. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*. 13 (2), 143–180.

<sup>243</sup> Sykes, Gresham M. & Matza, D. (1957, p.666) Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency. *American Sociological Review*. 22 (6), 664–670; See also Cromwell, P. & Thurman, Q. (2003, p. 536) The Devil Made Me Do It: Use of Neutralizations by Shoplifters. *Deviant Behaviour*. 24 (6), 535–550.

property. The third is *the denial of the victim*; referring to the offender taking responsibility for both, the committing of the criminal act and the harm caused to the victim but renouncing the victims' innocence and thus delegating the fault to the victim's actions or conduct. Examples of this could be racist or homophobic crimes. The fourth technique is *the condemnation of the condemner*, where the offender directs the attention to the wrong and immoral conduct of those that are against his actions, such as the police, parents or education system. While in the last technique, *the appeal to higher loyalties*, the offender accepts social norms in general but occasionally his own association group demands a different kind of behaviour or conduct such as helping or covering up for a friend, even if it involves actions which are against the law.<sup>244</sup>

Hirschi,<sup>245</sup> contributed to this theory as well by adding that in most cases the deviant behaviour comes before the need to neutralise it but because this behaviour usually occurs occasionally over a certain period of time these techniques probably influence the behaviour from one act to another. Subsequent studies have identified five more techniques of neutralisation. The- *metaphor of the ledger*, applies to the fact that a person has a lot of good deeds in his past and therefore it is conceivable that he can commit some bad ones.<sup>246</sup> *Defence of necessity*, describes occasions when a person perceives a criminal act as absolutely necessary and therefore feels less blame about committing it.<sup>247</sup> The other three techniques were defined by Colman and detailed in

---

<sup>244</sup> Ibid (p.667-669).

<sup>245</sup> Hirschi (1969, p. 208).

<sup>246</sup> Klockars (1974, p.151).

<sup>247</sup> Minor, W. W. (1981, p. 298) Techniques of Neutralization: a Reconceptualization and Empirical Examination. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. 18 (2), 295–318.

his book regarding white-collar crimes.<sup>248</sup> The first one is *the denial of the necessity of the law*, which says that accordingly the law is not useful or applicable and does not serve its purpose properly and therefore should be ignored; *the claim that everybody else is doing it* and hence it is so widespread that it seems less important and relevant; and the *claim of entitlement* which refers to people who feel that they have some right to commit certain acts due to their life circumstances or special needs.

Hence, it seems that there are ten neutralisation techniques defined in the literature so far: 1. Denial of responsibility, 2. Denial of injury, 3. Denial of the victim, 4. Condemnation of the condemner, 5. Appeal to higher loyalties, 6. Metaphor of the ledger, 7. Defence of necessity, 8. Denial of the necessity of the law, 9. The claim that everybody else is doing it, 10. Claim of entitlement.<sup>249</sup>

*Terrorists' neutralisations techniques:*

Similarly, terrorists also use varied techniques to rationalise their violent acts in order to avoid complexes of guilt and blame, as Rapoport asserts:

All terrorists must deny the relevance of guilt and innocence, but in doing so they create an unbearable tension in their own souls, for they are in effect saying that a person is not a person. It is no accident that left-wing terrorists constantly speak of a "pig-society," by convincing

---

<sup>248</sup> Colman, J. W. (1994) *The Criminal Elite: The Sociology of White-Collar Crime*. New York: St. Martin's Press; (2005, p.204-209) *The Criminal Elite: Understanding White-Collar Crime*. 6th edition. Worth Publishers.

<sup>249</sup> Eliason, S. L. & Dodder, R. A. (1999, p.235) Techniques of Neutralization Used by Deer Poachers in the Western United States: a Research Note. *Deviant Behaviour*. 20 (3), 233–252.

themselves that they are confronting animals they hope to stay the remorse which the slaughter of the innocent necessarily generates.<sup>250</sup>

Canter<sup>251</sup> found correlations between justification techniques of violent men and terrorist groups which was summarised from wider research done by Canter and Barrett<sup>252</sup> that deals with violent men. The main four linked justifications they raise are:

- 1) the strength and importance of honour which validate extreme responses in cases of disrespect or insult;
- 2) the act of revenge or retribution for injustices caused by others; and,
- 3) in that sense even adds to their need to defend oneself hence the violent acts; and finally,
- 4) Belittle responsibility by arguing that bad things happen and that it is collateral damage.

Bandura also details four techniques terrorists might use in order to morally disengage from their violent acts and hence avoid the consequences of guilt and human pain:

- 5) Consider themselves as the saviours of their people from an evil entity,
- 6) Belittle their role and transfer responsibility to the leader or the group,
- 7) Ignore the victims pain or to minimise it; and,

---

<sup>250</sup> Rapoport, D. C. (1971, p.42) *Assassination and Terrorism*. Toronto: CBC Merandising; see also Hudson (1999, p. 35).

<sup>251</sup> Canter (2006, p. 120).

<sup>252</sup> Canter, D. & Barrett, E. (2006) *Narratives of Violence*. Centre for Investigative Psychology: Liverpool.

8) Dehumanisation of the victim and making him irrelevant.<sup>253</sup>

More on the rationalisation related to victims can be found in Baumeister's book regarding evil, human violence and cruelty, which argues that offenders must despise their victims in order to avoid guilt. Furthermore, they need to believe that what they are doing is good and therefore their opponents are necessarily bad and thus evil.<sup>254</sup> Similarly, in order to avoid any sense of guilt, terrorists 'depersonalise' the victims that happen to be involved in their terrorist acts and by so doing they are able to kill them, whether they are women or children, without feeling any culpability. They perceive these victims as representing an evil system or cooperating with it and therefore are a righteous target.<sup>255</sup>

Another aspect related to the rationalisations terrorists use in relation to their victims, is target selection. The basic principles of the ideology of the group define who is their enemy and hence considers that enemy as a genuine target that deserves to be attacked and injured.<sup>256</sup> Nevertheless, these victims have a very passive role in the dynamic of the actual terrorist acts and they serve the terrorists only as a tool towards achieving their main goals of causing a dramatic event with significant consequences on the political and social reality of the targeted place.<sup>257</sup>

---

<sup>253</sup> Bandura, A. (1990, p.173-182) 'Mechanism of Moral Disengagement', in Walter Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Woodrow Wilson Centre Press and Cambridge University Press. pp. 161–191.

<sup>254</sup> Baumeister, R. F. (1996, p.180-181) *Evil: Inside Human Violence & Cruelty*. W H Freeman & Co.

<sup>255</sup> Kellen, K. (1979, p.3) *Terrorists- What are they Like? How some Terrorists Describe their World and Action*. Available from: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA483788>.

<sup>256</sup> Drake, C. J. M. (1998, p.56-57) The Role of Ideology in Terrorists' Target Selection. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 10 (2), 53–85.

<sup>257</sup> Hacker, F. J. (1980, p.147) Terror and Terrorism: Modern Growth Industry and Mass Entertainment. *Terrorism*. 4 (1-4), 143–159; Schmid, Alex Peter & Jongman, A. J. (2005, p.17) *Political Terrorism: a New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, & Literature*. Transaction Publishers.

However, Drake<sup>258</sup> argues that in the case of terrorism, rationalisations for committing violent acts are a result of the group's ideology, which considers the group's political concerns and identity and hence provides the structure and motivation for action. Indeed, this sort of ideology can be religious, social or nationalist, defined by Kruglanski, Crenshaw, Post and Victoroff<sup>259</sup> as the 'agent' motivating force. Along with some main key factors such as: raising certain grievances, pointing the blame for these grievances towards a third actor, a government or an institution, nurturing violence as a morally justified method of action and promising rewards for activists, a charismatic leader can eloquently draw a socially, economically or morally deprived audience towards an alienation of the 'others' and the absorbing of the violent doctrine.<sup>260</sup>

Examples of militant organisations with a solid nationalist but anti-religious ideology are the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) which has committed various suicide attacks in Turkey, and the 'Tamil Tigers' who carried out many suicide bombings in Sri Lanka and India.<sup>261</sup> Nonetheless, the Islamist militant doctrine which is based on a strong religious ideology has been characterised by two main streams - a worldwide Salafist/Jihadist doctrine as embraced by al Qaeda which divides the whole world in two camps of the faithful and the unbelievers, while aiming to spread the 'word of

---

<sup>258</sup> Drake (1998, p.54-55); Wilkinson, P. (1988, p.95) Support Mechanisms in International Terrorism. Gentry, C. (2004, p.278) The Relationship between New Social Movement Theory and Terrorism Studies: The Role of Leadership, Membership, Ideology and Gender. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16 (2), 274–293.

<sup>259</sup> Kruglanski, A. W. et al. (2007, p.122) What Should This Fight Be Called? Metaphors of Counterterrorism and Their Implications. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*. 8 (3), 97–133.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid; as well as Oberschall, A. (2004, p.27) Explaining Terrorism: The Contribution of Collective Action Theory. *Sociological Theory*. 22 (1), 26–37.

<sup>261</sup> Canter, D. (2009, p.10) in his extensive report on *Pathways to the Radicalization of Islamic Terrorists in India*. International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology: University of Huddersfield; Ramasubramanian, R. (2004, p.6) *Suicide Terrorism in Sri Lanka*; Van de Voorde, C. (2005, p.181-182). Sri Lankan Terrorism: Assessing and responding to the Threat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). *Police Practice and Research*. 6 (2), 181–199.

God' as superior beyond any borders.<sup>262</sup> The other is the nationalist/insurgent Islamist militant doctrine as embraced by groups such as the Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Israel/Palestine who are more limited in their ambitions, aiming to tackle more local grievances such as the creation of an independent state or defending an existing one.<sup>263</sup>

An example of a national militant organisation in that same region of the middle east, which, although most of its members consider themselves Muslims, has an ideology based on national interests evolving from mainly social grievances relating to the same need for an independent state is Fatah. However, according to Frisch,<sup>264</sup> Fatah has gone through some changes in its ideology including the adoption of more religious themes such as establishing its major fighting arm, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades (Kata'ib Shuhada al-Aqsa), whose name evokes the most religious place to the Palestinians in Jerusalem- the Al-Aqsa mosque, that is under Israeli control since 1967.<sup>265</sup> Their initiation was in order to challenge the wider success and progress of other Islamic movements in the area, mentioned previously such as Hamas and Hizballah.

---

<sup>262</sup>Bakker, E. (2006, P.1-2) *Jihadi Terrorists in Europe- Their Characteristics and the Circumstances in Which They Joined the Jihad: An Exploratory Study*. Clingendael: Netherland Institute of International Relations. Available from: [http://www.nbiz.nl/publications/2006/20061200\\_cscp\\_csp\\_bakker.pdf](http://www.nbiz.nl/publications/2006/20061200_cscp_csp_bakker.pdf).

<sup>263</sup>Stares, P. B. & Yacoubian, M. (2006, p. 89) 'Unconventional Approaches to an Unconventional Threat: A Counter-Epidemic Strategy', in K.M Campbell & W Darsie (eds.) *Mapping the jihadist threat: The war on terror since 9/11. A report of the Aspen Strategy Group*. Queenstown, MD: The Aspen Institute. pp. 85–95. Available from: [http://www.usip.org/files/stares\\_yacoubian\\_threat.pdf](http://www.usip.org/files/stares_yacoubian_threat.pdf); Feldstein, S. P. (ed.) (2009, p.103) *Terrorists Ideology and the Implications of Radicalisation*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc; A hearing before the selected committee on intelligence of the United States senate on the topic of Terrorist Ideology; See also: Ayoob, M. (2005, p.955) The Future of Political Islam: The Importance of External Variables. *World Policy Journal*. 21 (3), 1–14.

<sup>264</sup>Frisch, H. (2005, p.392) Has the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Become Islamic? Fatah, Islam, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 17 (3), 391–406.

<sup>265</sup>Ibid (p.393); See also: BBC (2003) Profile: Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. *BBC*. 1 July. Available from: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/1760492.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1760492.stm) (Accessed 27 July 2012).



Smelser,<sup>266</sup> highlighted the fact that not all ideologies address a social agent as being to blame for their grievances, nevertheless, most religions advocate the existence of a cosmic power beyond human reach that is accountable for all good or bad occurrences and hence generates a more passive response and further self-observation. However, it is evidently not the case within terrorist organisations and activists, in which their actions express their active hostility and negation towards their targets. In that sense terrorist organisation practice the criminal techniques of neutralisation such as: the denial of the victim, the condemnation of the condemner, the appeal to higher loyalties as well as the defence of necessity, the denial of the necessity of the law and the claim of entitlement. These techniques mostly correlates with Bandura's and Canter's suggestions of justification techniques terrorist might use in order to deal with the consequences of their actions in the aspects of their perceptions of their victims, delegating responsibility and the sense of their essential participation in these acts.<sup>267</sup>

The thoughts, beliefs and attitudes of the terrorist leaders towards different issues – such as their rationalisation for carrying out the terrorist acts, their long-term objectives, the Arab-Israeli conflict, or Israeli society – is detailed in this chapter in order to determine whether there is a strong connection between their thoughts and beliefs, and their final acts.

#### **4. Leadership profile**

---

<sup>266</sup> Smelser, N. J. (2007, p.65) *The Faces of Terrorism- Social and Psychological Dimensions*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

<sup>267</sup> For more information on these techniques and their relation to terrorism see: Schmid and Jongman (2005, p. 226, note 119).

The fourth element is the leadership role of the interviewees, which will be elaborated in the sixth chapter. This deals with understanding the perception of leadership by the leaders, their decision-making processes, their ambitions, and leadership conduct. Leadership is perceived in the literature as the feature that constitutes the brain of the organisation, and the part that plans, leads and manages its activity. The organisation cannot function without the leader; however, the leader serves as a means to an end as far as the organisation's goals are concerned, and in most organisations following the leadership is not supposed to be the goal itself.<sup>268</sup> There is a differentiation in the literature between two types of leadership. 'Transformational' leadership is charismatic, and describes a leader who leads the organisation and its followers to fulfilment of a noble cause. This leader is endowed with the talent to enable cooperation between all the people involved in order to achieve the group vision and to facilitate change. According to Bass, these leaders provide meaning, challenge, a sense of mission and higher vision; they gain respect and trust, and act as role models for their subordinates; and they foster a climate of trust and motivate other colleagues to transcend self-interest for the sake of the organisation.<sup>269</sup>

Conversely, the 'transactional' leader operates in a stricter and more business-like way. Standards and expectations are specified and there may be punishment of those who do not comply. In addition, a transactional leader can build a base level of trust by clarifying expectations and rewards, and then reliably executing what has been

---

<sup>268</sup> Druker, P. (1992) *From Yesterday's Management to Tomorrow's Leadership*. Tel Aviv: Trivax Matar. (In Hebrew); Bass, B. M. (1985, p.11) *Leadership and Performance beyond Expectations*. Illustrated edition. New York: The Free Press; and (1990, p. 23) *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*. Free Press; Kahai, S. S. et al. (2003, p.502-503) Effects of Leadership Style, Anonymity, and Rewards on Creativity-Relevant Processes and Outcomes in an Electronic Meeting System Context. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 14 (4-5), 499–524.

<sup>269</sup> Bass (1985, p.16-19).

agreed.<sup>270</sup> Most leaders of terrorist groups are better seen as transformational leaders and are gifted with charisma and the power to spread a message or ideology or to persuade others to follow them.<sup>271</sup> Fortune, adds to this that leadership while in prison is a different issue than leadership outside of prison, due to the obvious difficulties, restrictions and scarcity of resources that characterise the place, and therefore the techniques a person needs to use in order to reach the leadership position differs. The leader has to comply with the prison code of silence and to earn the fellow prisoners' trust and respect.<sup>272</sup> Leadership of terrorist groups in Israeli prisons are responsible for their members every aspect of daily life as well as managing the communication with the organisations outside of prison. They operate within the limitations of their incarceration while negotiating the prisoner's needs and issues with the prisons authorities and handling the communication with their organisation in every means they have such as through their family visits, lawyers and released prisoners.<sup>273</sup>

### Leadership:

Leaders are agents of change - persons whose acts affect other people more than other people's acts affect them<sup>274</sup>

Leaders, in different shapes and forms, have existed since the early days of humanity, and they have played significant roles in people's lives throughout history.<sup>275</sup> Though

---

<sup>270</sup> Ibid (p.14); Kahai, S. S. et al. (2003, p.503).

<sup>271</sup> Bass, B. M. & Riggio, R. E. (2006, p.5) *Transformational Leadership*. Routledge; Price, B. C. (2009, p.106) *Removing the Devil You Know: Unravelling the Puzzle behind Decapitation Effectiveness and Terrorist Group Duration*. PhD thesis. USA: Stansford. Available from: <http://gradworks.umi.com/3382946.pdf>.

<sup>272</sup> Fortune, S.H. (2003a, p.29) *Inmate and Prison Gang Leadership*. PhD thesis. East Tennessee State: East Tennessee State University.

<sup>273</sup> Bornstein, A. (2001, p.556) Ethnography and the Politics of Prisoners in Palestine-Israel. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 30 (5), 546 –574.

<sup>274</sup> Bass, B. M. (1990, p.19-20) *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*. Free Press.

leadership is a universal phenomenon,<sup>276</sup> and according to Burns it is also one of the most observed one on earth,<sup>277</sup> it seems that like the concept of terrorism<sup>278</sup> the notion of leadership has various definitions and coinciding meanings, which often lead to confusion.<sup>279</sup> In his 1978 work on leadership, Burns<sup>280</sup> argued that the concept of leadership was not well understood and this was evident through his exploration of 130 definitions of this concept. Later during the 1990s, Bass argued that “there are almost as many different definitions to the concept of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept”.<sup>281</sup> Rost verified this statement by finding 221 definitions of leadership within 587 publications he examined around that time.<sup>282</sup>

#### The ‘trait theory’ of leadership:

Early theories perceived leadership as the tenure of a ‘great man’, ownership of extraordinary qualities that shaped history by their existence and actions.<sup>283</sup> These theories were the basis of the ‘trait theory’ that was first introduced in the 1920s, growing in popularity between the 1930s and the 1950s. The trait theory classifies

---

<sup>275</sup> Ibid (1990, p.3); Burns, J. M. (1978, p.2) *Leadership*. 1st edition. Harpe and Row.

<sup>276</sup> Bass, B. M. & Bass, R. R. (2008, p. 7) *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*. Simon and Schuster.

<sup>277</sup> Burns (1978, p.2).

<sup>278</sup> Schmid, Alex P. (1992) The Response Problem as a Definition Problem. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 4 (4), 7–13; Ganor, B. (2002) Defining Terrorism: Is One Man’s Terrorist another Man’s Freedom Fighter? *Police Practice and Research*. 3 (4), 287–304; Ruby, C. L. (2002b) The Definition of Terrorism. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*. 2 (1), 9–14; Weinberg, L., Pedahzur, A., et al. (2004) *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16 (4), 777–794; All discussed the difficulties and attempts to define the concept and phenomenon of terrorism.

<sup>279</sup> Bass (1990, p.11); Burns (1996, p. 148-149); Bass and Bass (2008, p. 15); Eddy, P. L. & VanDerLinden, K. E. (2006, p.7) Emerging Definitions of Leadership in Higher Education New Visions of Leadership or Same Old ‘Hero’ Leader? *Community College Review*. 34 (1), 5–26; Winston, B. E. & Patterson, K. (2006, p.6-7) An Integrative Definition of Leadership. *International Journal of Leadership Studies*. 1 (2), 6–66.

<sup>280</sup> Burns (1978, p.2).

<sup>281</sup> Bass (1990, p.11).

<sup>282</sup> Rost, J. C. (1993, p.44) *Leadership for the Twenty-First Century*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

<sup>283</sup> Carlyle, T. & Adams, J. C. (1907, p.18) *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. Boston; New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

leadership as a certain personality type, where a leader possesses a significant arsenal of traits, which contributes to the leaders' ability to become an authority others accept and follow, and further influence the leader's effectiveness.<sup>284</sup> Later on this theory was somewhat undermined and criticized, starting with Stogdill, a leading scholar in the field of leadership, who contended that personality itself is not enough, and even though it has been found that leaders share unique traits compared to non-leaders (such as intelligence, persistence, high self-esteem, as well as responsibility), there is a need to take in to consideration the contexts or situations in which the leader operates.<sup>285</sup>

Consequently, since these ideas were originally presented, traits came to be considered a related factor to leadership, along with situational factors and environmental ones.<sup>286</sup> In the early 1970s the trait theory enjoyed a revival, based on the argument that traits were a good way of predicting behaviour<sup>287</sup> and further discovering more evidence that certain traits such as intelligence, dominance, masculinity, self-confidence and even adjustment have a strong relationship with leadership and effectiveness.<sup>288</sup> Stogdill revised his theory and in new research he highlighted the fact that personality traits are a significant part of leadership's existence, where characteristics such as creativity and originality in finding solutions,

---

<sup>284</sup> Cowley, W. H. (1931, p.144) The Traits of Face-to-Face Leaders. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 26 (3), 304–313; Mann, R. D. (1959, p. 247) A Review of the Relationships between Personality and Performance in Small Groups. *Psychological Bulletin*. 56 (4), 241–270; Bass (1990, p.12); Hogan, R et al. (1994, p.498) What we Know about Leadership. Effectiveness and Personality. *The American Psychologist*. 49 (6), 493–504.

<sup>285</sup> Stogdill (1948, p.66).

<sup>286</sup> Judge, T. A. et al. (2002, p. 765) Personality and Leadership: a Qualitative and Quantitative Review. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*. 87 (4), 765–780.

<sup>287</sup> Bem, D. J. & Allen, A. (1974, p.506-520) On Predicting some of the People some of the Time: The Search for Cross-Situational Consistencies in Behaviour. *Psychological Review*. 81 (6), 506–520.

<sup>288</sup> Stogdill (1974, p.72); Lord, R. G. et al. (1986) A Meta-Analysis of the Relation between Personality Traits and Leadership Perceptions: An Application of Validity Generalization Procedures. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 71 (3), 402–410; House, R. J. & Aditya, R. N. (1997, p.412) The Social Scientific Study of Leadership: Quo Vadis? *Journal of Management*. 23 (3), 409–473.

ambitions, responsibility, consistency and the ability to make hard decisions and to cooperate with others, and to accept failure when needed, are all primarily aspects in identifying an effective leader.<sup>289</sup>

Another attempt to link leadership and personality was done through the theory of the five factor model of personality or as it is often called the 'Big five', as discussed earlier.<sup>290</sup> This attempt revealed a strong relationship between five structured traits and effective leadership.<sup>291</sup> The first trait explicated in this theory is *Neuroticism*, or more accurately, the absence of neuroticism, as this feature was found to be adversely related to the emergence of leadership and its effective conduct.<sup>292</sup> Bass<sup>293</sup> in his review indicated the significance of low neuroticism among leaders. This fact leads to the observation of self-esteem, another quality that when found to be very low serves as an indicator of neuroticism.<sup>294</sup> Consequently it has been established that leaders have medium to high self-esteem and hence these findings contradict the possession of neuroticism among this group of people.<sup>295</sup> The findings presented in this study reinforce this theory, which is discussed in chapter four that deals with the personality profile of the interviewees who are all leaders in prisons.<sup>296</sup>

---

<sup>289</sup> Stogdill (1974, p.72).

<sup>290</sup> See this introduction, p.59-60.

<sup>291</sup> Judge, T. A. & Bono, J. E. (2000, p.751-765) Five-Factor Model of Personality and Transformational Leadership. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 85 (5), 751–765; Judge, T. A. et al. (2002, p.767-768) Personality and Leadership: a Qualitative and Quantitative Review. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*. 87 (4), 765–780; Shao, L. & Webber, S. (2006, p.936-944) A cross-Cultural Test of the 'Five-Factor Model of Personality and Transformational Leadership'. *Journal of Business Research*. 59 (8), 936–944.

<sup>292</sup> Hogan et al (1994, p. 497).

<sup>293</sup> Bass (1990, p. 69).

<sup>294</sup> Eysenck, H. J. (1990, p.264-267) 'Biological Dimensions of Personality', in Lawrence A. Pervin (ed.) *Handbook of personality: Theory and research*. 1st edition New York: Guilford Press. pp. 244–276.

<sup>295</sup> Hill, N. C. & Ritchie, J. B. (1977, p. 499) The Effect of Self-Esteem on Leadership and Achievement: A Paradigm and a Review. *Group & Organization Management*. 2 (4), 491–503; Hogan et al. (1994, p. 496).

<sup>296</sup> See chapter 4 of this thesis p.204-206.

The second trait listed in the ‘big five’ theory is *Extraversion*, which is the opposite of introversion and is characterised as being an energetic and lively person.<sup>297</sup> This might be linked to the emergence and social aspects of leadership where the leader is active, assertive and full of energy to take on the leading role in a group or society.<sup>298</sup> *Openness* is the third angle of the ‘big five’ theory and it refers to original thinking, intellect and creativity,<sup>299</sup> all important skills that have great influence on effective leadership,<sup>300</sup> and according to Bass<sup>301</sup> is highly correlated to leadership. *Agreeableness* is the fourth and most controversial trait in relation to leadership, due to the fact that being sensitive to others and possessing thoughtful interpersonal communication skills can be an important quality of a leader. However, agreeableness was also found to be associated with modesty and a need for affiliation, which does not characterise leadership.<sup>302</sup> The last trait is *Conscientiousness* which defines the person as fully motivated, ambitious, efficient, organised and responsible,<sup>303</sup> qualities that are quite essential for effectiveness in any job and serve as a significant predictor of an effective Charismatic leader.<sup>304</sup>

### Charisma:

Another quality that is linked extensively with leadership is charisma. Weber was the first to associate leadership with the word ‘Charisma’ which means ‘a gift of grace’

---

<sup>297</sup> Eysenck (1990, p. 244); Judge et al. (2002, p.768).

<sup>298</sup> Costa & McCrae (1988, p.259); Shao and Webber (2006, p.936-944).

<sup>299</sup> Digman (1990, p.424); Costa and McCrae (1992, p.62-63).

<sup>300</sup> Kahai, S. S. et al. (2003, p.500-501) Effects of Leadership Style, Anonymity, and Rewards on Creativity-Relevant Processes and Outcomes in an Electronic Meeting System Context. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 14 (4-5), 499–524; Mumford, M. D. et al. (2002, p.706) Leading Creative People: Orchestrating Expertise and Relationships. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 13 (6), 705–750.

<sup>301</sup> Bass (1990, p.66).

<sup>302</sup> Jude et al (2002, p. 768); Digman (1990, p.422-424).

<sup>303</sup> McCrae & Costa (1990, p.47); Bass and Bass (2008, p.121).

<sup>304</sup> Bass (1990, p.109); Barrick and Mount (1991, p.5); Jude et al (2002, p. 268).

taken from a study related to the Christian Churches. Weber argues that charisma is one of three aspects of legitimacy to power a leader might possess, the other two being the traditional and legal aspects of leadership. A charismatic leader according to Weber is supernatural, an ideal type of person who magically possesses spiritual power and paranormal abilities in relation to speech and mind as well as immense motivation to bring about change.<sup>305</sup> Furthermore, charismatic leaders are also known to be very effective leaders, they use their unique 'gift' to influence their followers and motivate them to devote themselves to a collective cause, contributing more than expected of them and making personal sacrifices for the greater good and as a part of collective duty.<sup>306</sup>

In modern times, Weber defines leaders slightly differently. The leader still possesses an extraordinary virtue and striking personality yet it is not supernatural.<sup>307</sup> Accordingly, a charismatic leader rules the actions in the present and thus controls the events in the future. Such charisma can be implemented by four types of figures: Sages, such as scientists and philosophers who change human perceptions of the world; Generals who maintain security and wide human conquered around the world, Political authorities who control aspects of everyday life of an entire community; and, Revolutionary leaders, who mostly struggle to improve the conditions and way of life of people within their societies. The revolutionary leader, as opposed to the other three types of leaders, is a different kind of character who needs to convince others in

---

<sup>305</sup> Weber, M. (1978, p.1111-1156) in the second part of his book: *Economy and Society: an Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. University of California Press; for more information on Weber's theory of Charisma see also: Breuilly, J. (2011, p.478-479) Max Weber, charisma and nationalist leadership. *Nations and Nationalism*. 17 (3), 477–499; Ensari, N. & Murphy, S. E. (2003, p.53) Cross-Cultural Variations in Leadership Perceptions and Attribution of Charisma to the Leader. *Organisational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*. 92 (1-2), 52–66; Weber, M. & Whimster, S. (2004, chapter 7, p.133-145) *The Essential Weber- A Reader*. Routledge.

<sup>306</sup> Shamir, B. et al. (1993, p.577) The Motivational Effect of Charismatic Leadership: A Self-Concept Based Theory. *Organisation Science*. 4 (4), 577–594.

<sup>307</sup> Spencer, M. E. (1973, p.342) What Is Charisma? *The British Journal of Sociology*. 24 (3), 341–354.



a great idea of a better future and thus has to rely mostly on his charismatic ability of persuasion and vision, not just his practical good qualities in the present.<sup>308</sup>

Furthermore, though studies on the exact personality characteristics of charismatic leaders are not comprehensive<sup>309</sup> Javidan and Waldman<sup>310</sup> found four main factors which seem to be common in most charismatic leaders:

1. Self-confidence;
2. Eloquence;
3. High energy and determination; and,
4. Desire for change and risk taking

Other studies have explored a different side of charismatic leadership, a negative one, in which the charisma is used to exploit eager followers and deceive them in order to gain personal and mostly pathological aims. Accordingly, these leaders might be narcissistic, politically manipulative, and egocentric as well as possessed with damaged and unethical or immoral visions and beliefs.<sup>311</sup> Bass and Steidlmeier named these leaders as inauthentic or pseudo transformational leaders. The concept of transformational leadership, the incarnation of charismatic leadership, will be explored here further.<sup>312</sup>

---

<sup>308</sup> Ibid (p.345-347).

<sup>309</sup> House, R. J. (1992, p.5-6) Charismatic Leadership in Service-Producing Organisations. *International Journal of Service Industry Management*. 3 (2), 5–16; Yukl, G. (1999, p.286) An Evaluation of Conceptual Weaknesses in Transformational and Charismatic Leadership Theories. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 10 (2), 285–305.

<sup>310</sup> Javidan, M. & Waldman, D. A. (2003, p.231) Exploring Charismatic Leadership in the Public Sector: Measurement and Consequences. *Public Administration Review*. 63 (2), 229–242.

<sup>311</sup> Conger, Jay Alden & Kanungo, R. N. (1998, chapter 7, p.211-241) *Charismatic Leadership in Organisations*. SAGE; Fogarty, S. G. (2010, p. 9-32) The Dark Side of Leadership. *Australasian Pentecostal Studies*. 137–141; See also Post, J. M. (2004, chapter 9, p.187-199) *Leaders and Their Followers in a Dangerous World: The Psychology of Political Behaviour*. Cornell University Press.

<sup>312</sup> Bass, B. M. & Steidlmeier, P. (1999, p.184) Ethics, Character, and Authentic Transformational Leadership Behaviour. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 10 (2), 181–217.

### Transformational vs. transactional leadership:

Nearly two decades ago researchers expanded the theory relating to charismatic leadership by applying it to organisational leaderships with a focus on senior influential leaders in companies or other relevant institutes. There has also been an addition to the term charismatic leadership; a transformational, visionary or even revolutionary leadership, which consequently was better suited to modification.<sup>313</sup> Accordingly, transformational leadership is an influential, charismatic and ideological kind of leadership, characterising leaders who lead people to achieve a higher purpose and have the vision and morality to do so while working towards achieving a common goal together with their subordinates. By pursuing change, the transformational leader creates an atmosphere of cooperation among all, to establish a shared vision and a better future.<sup>314</sup>

The opposite of the transformational leadership, is the transactional leadership, this is largely more characteristic of business and administrative leadership. The transactional leader achieves cooperation among subordinates by controlling exchange trade as well as by securing a grant for the task he or she imposes or the imposition of sanctions when a task is not performed properly. The transactional leader's role is to monitor conduct or insufficient completion of a mission and to punish or reward accordingly in order to achieve productive results.<sup>315</sup>

---

<sup>313</sup> Conger, Jay A. (1999, p.145-146) Charismatic and Transformational Leadership in Organisations: An Insider's Perspective on These Developing Streams of Research. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 10 (2), 145–179.

<sup>314</sup> Burns (1978, p.4); Bass (1985, p.14-32); Kahai et al (2003, p.500-501).

<sup>315</sup> Burns (1978, p.4); Bass & Avolio (1993, p.52).

According to Bass ‘The transactional leader works within the organisational culture as it exists; the transformational leader changes the organisational culture’,<sup>316</sup> yet there might be symptoms of both types of leadership within the same leader, though to a different extent and intensity, due to the necessity of both aspects for leadership efficiency.<sup>317</sup> According to Hoffman, an example of such a leader would have been Osama Bin Laden, who until quite recently was the unquestioned leader of Al-Qaeda before he was targeted and killed by American forces. Hoffman argues that Bin Laden transformed Al Qaeda into a transnational terrorist organisation, with a business oriented administration through his modern management capabilities, his relevant education and his managerial experience gained through the family business. Bin Laden had essentially applied upon Al Qaeda effective management methods that are used in other cooperative entities around the world. In addition to this he was also a charismatic leader who encouraged new ideas and creative thinking in order to push the organisation and its goals forward.<sup>318</sup>

#### Leadership in terrorist organisations:

‘Terrorist groups are violent, clandestine organisations that are primarily value driven in pursuit of their goals. As a result, terrorist group leaders have different incentive structures and fewer constraints than leaders in other organisations’<sup>319</sup>

---

<sup>316</sup> Bass (1985, p.24).

<sup>317</sup> Ibid (p.26).

<sup>318</sup> Hoffman, B. (2004, p.14) *Redefining Counterterrorism- the Terrorist Leader as CEO*. RAND Corporation . 28. 14–15.

<sup>319</sup> Price, B. C. (2009, p.110) *Removing the Devil You Know: Unravelling the Puzzle behind Decapitation Effectiveness and Terrorist Group Duration*. PhD thesis. USA: Stansford. Available from: <http://gradworks.umi.com/3382946.pdf>.

Though extensive studies have been conducted regarding the personality and background of dominant terrorist leaders such as Bin Laden<sup>320</sup> and Yasser Arafat,<sup>321</sup> only limited research has been conducted regarding the internal conduct of these leaders within their organisations, their decision making processes and their general managerial attitudes.<sup>322</sup> Post stressed the importance of understanding the role of terrorist leaders in contributing to the justification of violent acts, due to the lack of abnormality within these groups, as well as the major influence their social surrounding has on the group's followers.<sup>323</sup>

Ranstorp detailed the emergence of religious terror groups since the 1960s, which are motivated mainly by religion but also by the general politics in their area. The leadership within these groups emerges from radical clerics who attract others by their charismatic strength and violent ideology applied to achieve their goals effectively. These leaders control the military aspects as well as the political activities in the organisation while providing a religious justification for it.<sup>324</sup>

Terrorist leaders can be elected by group members for their general abilities like any other political leader. However, the leaders of such groups do not fit any common profile, as it seems that there are various types of leaders of different ages, sex, education level and mental capabilities. Furthermore, they are mostly not under the

---

<sup>320</sup> Post, J. M. (2002) *Killing in the Name of God: Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda*. Available from: <http://stinet.dtic.mil/oai/oai?&verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA457552> (Accessed 28 June 2012).

<sup>321</sup> Kimhi, S. & Even, S. (2003) Yassir Arafat: Behavioural and Strategic Analysis. *Social Behaviour and Personality: an International Journal*. 31 (4), 363–373; as well as Brexel, B. (2003) *Yasser Arafat*. The Rosen Publishing Group.

<sup>322</sup> Oots, K. L. (1990, p.152) Bargaining with Terrorists: Organizational Considerations. *Terrorism*. 13 (2), 145–158.

<sup>323</sup> Post, J. M. (2005b, p.616, as well as p.622) When Hatred is bred in the Bone: Psycho-cultural Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism. *Political Psychology*. 26 (4), 615–636.

<sup>324</sup> Ranstorp, M. (1996, p.41-63) Terrorism in the Name of Religion; for more information: Fine (2008, p.59-69) Contrasting Secular and Religious Terrorism. *Journal of International Affairs*. 50 (1), 41–63.

authority of any other superior actor in the area and have no obligation to any authority or to any legal restriction. Consequently, they gain significant power and control from these aspects of organisational structure and characteristics.<sup>325</sup> Most terrorist leaders tend to lean more on charisma and have stronger links to the transformational type of leadership, basing their leadership strategy on their capability to move and inspire their followers as well as their ability to move the organisation forward and make the necessary changes they seek. They tend to lean less towards the transactional type of leadership, which is more business oriented and focuses on the management attitudes towards the organisation followers and its goals.<sup>326</sup> Mannes gives two examples of charismatic terrorist leaders, Fathi Shkaki founder of PIJ and Abimael Guzman, founder of the Peruvian terrorist organisation Sendero Luminoso. In both cases the leaders' absence from their respective organisations resulted in the groups' severe dysfunction.<sup>327</sup>

Indeed, due to their importance to their organisations and the organisations' activities, as well as the immense influence they have on the followers, counterterrorism strategists have found it effective to decapitate these organisations by targeting their leaders in order to reduce the organisation's efficiency or even to demolish them totally. Numerous scholars have argued that this strategy which has much support within the agencies in charge of counterterrorism activities, mostly in America and Israel, but also in other countries around the world, is counterproductive and in some cases even harmful, as it attracts more young volunteers to join the terrorist groups

---

<sup>325</sup> Price, B.C. (2012, p.15-16) Targeting Top Terrorists- How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism. *International Security*. 36 (4), 9–46.

<sup>326</sup> Bahnsen, J. C. (2001, p.274) 'Charisma', in Christopher D. Kolenda et al. (eds.) *Leadership: The Warrior's Art*. Stackpole Books. pp.259–276; Price (2009, p.112-113).

<sup>327</sup> Manns, A. (2008, p.40) Testing the Snake Head Strategy: Does Killing or Capturing its Leaders Reduce a Terrorist Group's Activity? *The Journal of International Policy Solutions*. 940–949.

and commit violent and suicide acts.<sup>328</sup> Nevertheless, in the cases of the capture of these leaders, rather than their assassination, they are imprisoned usually for long periods of time, and while in prison they normally continue their role of leading the terrorist group, as will be elaborated further.

### Leadership in prisons:

Prisons are penal institutions that are characterized by a unique culture,<sup>329</sup> where leadership and status serve certain goals that are different from other institutions outside of prison. The prison atmosphere, due to its limited human resources, sees the development of various techniques which enable the achievement of the status of leadership. In order to become a leader, the prisoner must thoroughly understand the prison culture, such as codes of silence and the prohibition to transfer any information on to other prisoners, while also being perceived as trustworthy by prisoners, as well as earning their respect and being honoured by them. Prisoners understand differently and uniquely the issue of leadership and they interpret it as the ability to set an example to other inmates regarding how to survive in prison.<sup>330</sup> It has also been found that different types of prison affects the characteristics of leadership within them; as was detailed in a study from the late 1970s by Akers: minimum security prisons are characterised by a more democratic, open minded, leadership, the leaders are mostly

---

<sup>328</sup> Jordan, J. (2004) *Leadership Decapitation of Terrorist Organisations*. The International Studies Association. Available from: [http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/0/7/3/6/0/pages73601/p73601-1.php](http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/7/3/6/0/pages73601/p73601-1.php); as well as (2009, p.719-755) When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation. *Security Studies*. 18 (4), 719–755; see also Price (2009 and 2012); Hafez, M. M. & Hatfield, J. M. (2006) Do Targeted Assassinations Work? A Multivariate Analysis of Israel's Controversial Tactic during Al-Aqsa Uprising. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 29 (4), 359–382.

<sup>329</sup> Clemmer, D. (1940, p. 270) *The Prison Community*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston; for more information: Peat, B. J. & Winfree, L. T. (1992, p.206-225) Reducing the Intra-Institutional Effects of 'Prisonization'. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 19 (2), 206 –225.

<sup>330</sup> Fotrune, S. H. (2003, p.2) *Inmate and Prison Gang Leadership*. PhD thesis. East Tennessee State: East Tennessee State University.

older inmates and usually white. In prisons with stricter security the leaders are commonly defined as dictatorial, tough and destructive individuals, and they are usually younger and black.<sup>331</sup>

Another research project also in the late 1970s conducted by Solsar in two prisons in the United States, found that the leaders elected by the group also play a social role in prison, they are involved in social life, they are selected by other prisoners for various social activities and have many friends in prison. Furthermore, these leaders were divided into two groups, representative leaders who work with the prison authorities on the one hand, and emerging leaders, who influence and operate within the group of prisoners on the other. It was found that leaders who are cooperative and are able to represent the prisoners effectively, and are likely to be approved by the prison staff, were more likely to be elected to the role of representative leaders. This is contrasted with emerging leaders who are less acceptable to the prison staff, but are favoured by the prisoners themselves. Furthermore, in terms of their characteristics, emerging leaders will often be in prison for longer terms than the other prisoners, compared with representative leaders, who are varied between prisons. In prisons that are considered as high security level they would not be characterised by a long term sentence, whereas in less secured prisons, representative leaders will be characterised by a long term sentence. Furthermore, the ages of both types of leaders, will be older than the prisoners who are not leaders, they are generally more educated and may have a history of more severe crimes and offences.<sup>332</sup>

---

<sup>331</sup> Akers, R. L. (1977, p.381-382) Type of Leadership in Prison: A Structural Approach to Testing the Functional and Importation Models. *The Sociological Quarterly*. 18 (3), 378–383.

<sup>332</sup> Solsar, J. A. (1978, p.99-117) *Prisonization, Friendship and Leadership*. Lexington Books; See also Shrivastava, R. S. (1974, p.387-393) The Inmate Elite: Social Stratification among Prison Inmates. *The Indian Journal of Social Work*. 34. 387–393.

As was will be detailed in the further,<sup>333</sup> leadership of security prisoners in Israeli prisons is also divided into two types of leaders- internal ones that hold leadership positions within the organisations and spokesmen who moderate between the security prisoners and the prison authorities. Though there is not much written literature on the characteristics of these leaders and the only difference in their leadership conduct found in this study was linked to the aspect of religion rather than their leadership role type.<sup>334</sup> The spokesman described as someone who has to have good communication and negotiations skills, he better speak good Hebrew and are rather moderate in their conduct and mind-set to be able to cooperate with prison authorities. The internal leaders on the other hand are countable for their status in the Palestinian arena by belonging to distinguished and honourable family. Their charges are also an influential factor and they should have a remarkable list of charges of acts against Israel to improve their chances to be elected.<sup>335</sup>

The leaders who participated in this study described their leadership roles and the way they interpreted the concept of leadership. The points they noted included whether they saw themselves as the *only* authority or whether they believed they were cooperating with other members of the organisation. Other elements relating to the leadership aspect will be explored, such as their preferences regarding the organisations' targets versus the perceived needs of the organisation members, as well as their expression of leadership difficulties and self-ambitions. The final aspect that will be explored in this chapter is whether according to an analysis of the literature

---

<sup>333</sup> See p. 123-124.

<sup>334</sup> See conclusions of chapter no. 6, p.252-254.

<sup>335</sup> IPS- Intelligence department (2003) *Memorandum- Political Prisoners*; Rosenfeld (2011, p.7); Nashif (2008, p. 9); Shaked (2008, p.28).



review, compared with their own perceptions and conduct relation to leadership, they were found to be charismatic leaders or not.

As Victoroff has suggested,

Investigating the terrorist mind may be a necessary first step toward actualizing modern political psychology's potential for uncovering the bases of terrorist aggression and designing an optimum counterterrorism policy.<sup>336</sup>

The results of this research will present a wide social psychology profile of the leaders of terrorist groups held in prisons, by merging the four elements discussed previously with the last element, which will be elaborated in chapter five, of imprisonment and its influence on the leaders' behaviour, perceptions and on their leadership conduct.

## **5. Imprisonment**

Clemmer, in the early 1940s, was the first to establish the concept of 'prisonisation', meaning "the taking on in greater or lesser degree of the folkways, mores, customs, and general culture of the penitentiary".<sup>337</sup> Accordingly, an exposure to prison, which contains a hostile social system, leads to indoctrination of the prisoner with certain characteristics of prison lifestyle and deviant norms. Furthermore, Clemmer suggested a distinction between two elements determining the effects of prison: the 'deprivation model' relates to how the experience of incarceration affects the creation of prisoners

---

<sup>336</sup> Victoroff, J. (2005, p.4) *The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches. The Journal of Conflict Resolution.* 49 (1), 3–42.

<sup>337</sup> Clemmer (1940, p. 270) Peat & Winfree (1992, p.206-225).

subculture; while the 'importation model' describes the effects of the inmate's social experience *before* entering prison on his adaption to his new social system.<sup>338</sup>

Sykes, and later on Goffman, expanded the deprivation model and suggested the concept of "pains of imprisonment" which referred to the prisoner's loss of sovereignty and freedom of movement. The prisoner experiences a deprivation of heterosexual or other relationships they used to maintain, and a sudden loss of the possessions and services, as well as personal security and safety, which they had previously enjoyed. These deprivations are combined with substantial damage to the prisoner's self-esteem due to the low social status of being a prisoner.<sup>339</sup> Furthermore, Clemmer claims that the inmate has to integrate into a subculture which operates through a value system defined as the 'inmate's code'. Illustrating the rules and conduct between the prisoners and with the prison personnel, he pointed out: "The inmate code, therefore, summarizes the behavioural expectations of the inmates' social system".<sup>340</sup>

More recent research investigated the applications of the deprivation model and the importation model on prisoners, suggesting that the deprivation model allows for a better prediction of prisonisation. Nonetheless, researchers acknowledged the

---

<sup>338</sup> Clemmer (1940, p. 270).

<sup>339</sup> Sykes, Gresham McCready (1958, p.63-83) *Society of Captives: Study of a Maximum Security Prison*. Princeton University Press; Goffman, E. (1961, p.12-74) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients*. Harmondsworth, UK: Pelican; for more information regarding the concept 'pain of imprisonment': Johnson, R. & Toch, H. (1982) *Pains of Imprisonment*. United State: Sage Publications, Inc; Riley, J. (2002) The Pains of Imprisonment: Exploring a Classic Text with Contemporary Authors. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*. 13 (2), 443–461.

<sup>340</sup> Clemmer (1958, p.152-155); for more information regarding the 'inmates code': Sykes, Gresham McCready & Messinger, S. L. (1960, p.401-405) The Inmate Social Code and its Functions. *Social Science Research Council*. 15. 401-405; Wellford, C. (1967) Factors Associated with Adoption of the Inmate Code: A Study of Normative Socialization. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*. 58(2), 197-203; Matthews, R. (1999, p.53) *Doing Time: An Introduction to the Sociology of Imprisonment*. Palgrave Macmillan.

significant impact of some aspects of the importation model as well, such as age, race, social economic status, employment and education. This has eventually led to the conclusion that both models explain more variables together than separately.<sup>341</sup> For instance, the process a prisoner goes through when entering incarceration for the first time is described as dramatically painful and traumatic. Prisoners lose their self-identity and their freedom of will and action in new social surroundings, which contains people who are not relatives or friends, and furthermore can be either hostile or highly dangerous. The consequences of these circumstances can include strong emotions of hopelessness and distress that may in turn lead to despair and to extreme violence, or even suicidal behaviour.<sup>342</sup> Interestingly, other studies have suggested that prisoners imprisoned for political and ideological reasons are more likely to experience positive development rather than effects of victimisation or despair.<sup>343</sup> Alderdice demonstrated the findings of a study that compared terrorist prisoners to other criminal prisoners, and found them to be more caring of their compatriots, possessing stronger survival abilities in stressful situations, and even tending to make better use of the education facilities while in prison.<sup>344</sup>

#### Adaptation to Imprisonment:

Apparently, even in these modern times, no suitable alternative to incarceration for dealing with serious criminal offenders has been found. As a result different studies

---

<sup>341</sup> Paterline, B. A. & Petersen, D. M. (1999, p.427-428) Structural and Social Psychological Determinants of Prisonization. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 27(5), 427-441; Reisig, M. D. & Lee, Y. H. (2000, p.23-24) Prisonization in the Republic of Korea. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 28(1), 23-31.

<sup>342</sup> Sykes (1958, p.63-83); Goffman (1961, 12-74); Dhami, M. K. et al. (2007, p.1086) Adaptation to Imprisonment. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 34 (8), 1085 –1100.

<sup>343</sup> Erbes, C. et al. (2005, p.285-286) Posttraumatic Growth among American Former Prisoners of War. *Traumatology*. 11 (4), 285 –295; Feder, A. et al. (2008, p.360) Posttraumatic Growth in Former Vietnam Prisoners of War. *Psychiatry*. 71 (4), 359–370.

<sup>344</sup> Alderdice (2007, p.202).

focused on the varied aspects affected by imprisonment, such as: the family and the general social surrounding, health, occupation and mental state. Examples of these aspects can be perceived in the study of Murray and Farrington<sup>345</sup> who found that prisoners' children are considerably susceptible to suffering from personality disorders and mental health problems; or studies that focused on imprisonment as causing the adoption of criminal careers and affecting the market place,<sup>346</sup> as well as studies that show the damage incarceration can cause to physical and mental health.<sup>347</sup> Accordingly, incarceration has been found to have a significant influence on the offender's life and hence on his attitude and conduct. However only a minority of offenders will go through different kinds of behavioural and cognitive treatment programmes during their time in prison and there is still an immense lack of evidence as to how and in what way incarceration affects the person.<sup>348</sup>

Moreover, most social studies on the effect of imprisonment highlight the harmful influence of incarceration on the prisoner's social attitude, evident by apathy, lack of initiative or interest in significant contact with the outside world and loss of responsibility and concern for life beyond the prison walls. Furthermore, long term

---

<sup>345</sup> Murray, J. & Farrington, David P (2005) Parental Imprisonment: Effects on Boys' Antisocial Behaviour and Delinquency through the Life-Course. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. 46 (12), 1269–1278; For more information relate to this issue see: Gabel, S. (1992) Behavioural Problems in Sons of Incarcerated or Otherwise Absent Fathers: The Issue of Separation. *Family Process*. 31 (3), 303–314; Travis, J. (2003) *Prisoners Once Removed: the Impact of Incarceration and Reentry on Children, Families, and Communities*. The Urban Institute.

<sup>346</sup> Freeman, R. B. (1994) *Crime and the Job Market*. National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series. No. 4910. Available from: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w4910>; Western, B. et al. (2001) The Labour Market Consequences of Incarceration. *Crime & Delinquency*. 47 (3), 410–427.

<sup>347</sup> Walker, N. (1983) Side-Effects of Incarceration. *British Journal of Criminology*. 23 (1), 61–71; Schnittker, J. & John, A. (2007) Enduring Stigma: The Long-Term Effects of Incarceration on Health. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*. 48 (2), 115–130; Massoglia, M. (2008) Incarceration, Health, and Racial Disparities in Health. *Law & Society Review*. 42 (2), 275–306.

<sup>348</sup> Wormith, J. S. (1984) Attitude and Behaviour Change of Correctional Clientele. *Criminology*. 22 (4), 595–618; Zamble, E. & Porporino, F. (1990, p.53-54) Coping, Imprisonment, and Rehabilitation. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 17 (1), 53 –70; Ditchfield, J. (1990, p.8) *Control in Prisons: A Review of the Literature*. H.M.S.O. London; Zamble, E. (1992, p.410) Behaviour and Adaptation in Long-Term Prison Inmates. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 19 (4), 409 –425.

incarceration leads the prisoners to a total dependency on the institution, understanding only the socialisation process inside prison and lacking social skills that will allow them to reintegrate with the outside world.<sup>349</sup>

Most early studies regarding prisoners who are incarcerated for a long period of time or even for life sentences emphasise that these prisoners are found to be more susceptible to prisonisation along with its vital consequences of losing social behavioural skills and immense deterioration in personal, mental or social attributes.<sup>350</sup> In more current studies other opinions have been suggested as well, placing less emphasis on the destructive effects of long incarceration by arguing that research did not find strong evidence of large scale decline in the social and physical abilities of people who incarcerated for a long periods of time.<sup>351</sup>

An example of such research is the study conducted by Leigey who investigated the mental health of prisoners serving a life sentence without parole, which is the most severe incarceration sentence available in non-capital punishment penal systems, in as much as the prisoner is to spend the rest of his life in prison without a chance of early release. Leigey reported that most of the prisoners interviewed claimed to suffer from poor mental health before incarceration as well as during their first few years in prison, evidenced by different aspects such as depression, severe anger and suicidal

---

<sup>349</sup> West, D. J. (1963, p.106-107) *The Habitual Prisoner*. Cambridge Studies of Criminology. London: Macmillan; Barton, R. (1966, p.14) *Institutional Neurosis*. Wright; Flanagan, T. J. (1981, p.202-205) Dealing with Long-Term Confinement. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 8 (2), 201-222; Liebling, A. & Maruna, S. (2005, p. 4-5) The Effects of Imprisonment. Cullompton Devon UK; Portland Or: Willan; Munn, M. (2011, p.236) Living in the Aftermath: the Impact of Lengthy Incarceration on Post-Carceral Success. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*. 50 (3), 233–246.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

<sup>351</sup> MacKenzie, D. layton & Goodstain, L. (1985, p.399) Long-Term Incarceration Impacts and Characteristics of Long-Term Offenders. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 12 (4), 395 –414; Zamble (1992, p.410); Flanagan, T. J. (1995, p. 3-9) *Long-Term Imprisonment: Policy, Science, and Correctional Practice*. Sage Publications

attitudes. However, these prisoners reported significant changes in their mental health later on in their confinement; they had enhanced their sense of humanity and self as well as their social responsibilities despite an on-going sadness and even apathy due to their difficult situation.<sup>352</sup>

Another unique group that has been investigated in relation to imprisonment and its outcomes is the group of prisoners of war (POW). Studies suggest that this group of people is at high risk of suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder as well as other symptoms of depression, mental health problems and alcoholism due to the incarceration as well as stressful and traumatic conditions they have experienced.<sup>353</sup> Other studies on this group of POW found that these traumatic experiences can lead also to constructive outcomes defined in literature as ‘post traumatic growth’, which is the occurrence of positive changes as an outcome of dealing with demanding and burdensome life circumstances. It can be manifested by personal and social changes such as an enhanced sense of personal strength and meaningful relationships with others, adoption of different priorities in life as well as feelings of gratitude for life in general.<sup>354</sup> Moreover, according to recent research, it seems that due to the character of their personal and political involvement in an ideological cause, people imprisoned for terrorist offences show relatively high levels of post-traumatic growth as well.<sup>355</sup>

---

<sup>352</sup> Leigey, M. E. (2011, p.259-262) For the Longest Time: The Adjustment of Inmates to a Sentence of Life without Parole. *The Prison Journal*. 90 (3), 247 –268.

<sup>353</sup> Kluznik, J. C. et al. (1986, p. 1443) Forty Year Follow-Up of United States Prisoners of War. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*. 143 (11), 1443–1446; Tennant, C. (2000, p.248) ‘Prisoners of War’, in George Fink (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of stress*. Academic Press.

<sup>354</sup> Tedeschi, R. G. & Calhoun, L. G. (1996, p.455-458) The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: Measuring the Positive Legacy of Trauma. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*. 9 (3), 455–471; (2004, p.1) Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence. *Psychological Inquiry*. 15 (1), 1–18; Weiss, T. (2002, p.66) Posttraumatic Growth in Women with Breast Cancer and Their Husbands. *Journal of Psychosocial Oncology*. 20 (2), 65–80.

<sup>355</sup> Erbes, C. et al. (2005, p.285-286) Posttraumatic Growth among American Former Prisoners of War. *Traumatology*. 11 (4), 285 –295; Salo, J. A. et al. (2005, p.361-362) Adult Attachment, Posttraumatic Growth and Negative Emotions among Former Political Prisoners. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping: An*

Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons:

The group of prisoners investigated in this study have been convicted in Israel for terrorist activities and are part of a wider unique group of prisoners incarcerated in Israeli prisons since the 1967 war between Israel and its neighbouring countries. The social profile of the prisoners has changed considerably during these years, since at the beginning they were young people, in their twenties or thirties, mostly students of higher education who were involved in the 'sixty seven war' and thus were arrested during the war or after it. Later, during the seventies, the dynamic of the prisoners altered towards teenagers, with some high school educated members, who were active locally. Correspondingly, from the mid-seventies until the *intifada* (the uprising of the Palestinians against Israel) in 1987 and beyond, the social profile changed again with an immense wave of arrests of prisoners who belonged to quite a different social spectrum. These included influential people such as political leaders, professionals and political activists. Furthermore, this wave of arrested prisoners forms the foundation of the security prisoners' community and institutionalisation.<sup>356</sup>

In Israel these prisoners are defined as 'security prisoners', which is a classification determined by the principles of the prison governor and regulations of the prison authority regarding the definitions of different types of prisoners attending the prisons. Its purpose is to differentiate these prisoners - usually by their identity, political attitude and offences - from regular criminal prisoners. This classification is an administrative policy and not a legal one, which allows the prison authorities a

---

*International Journal*. 18 (4), 361-378; Feder, A. et al. (2008, p.360) Posttraumatic Growth in Former Vietnam Prisoners of War. *Psychiatry*. 71 (4), 359-370.

<sup>356</sup> Nashif (2008, p.12-13).

unique freedom in supervising this group of prisoners and in handling them in such a manner as to avoid a security risk such as through visits, phone calls and early release. Furthermore, these prisoners are handled as a homogenous group posing a dangerous risk, rather than as individuals with unique backgrounds and specific needs.<sup>357</sup>

In addition, detentions and arrests of Palestinians in relation to security offences against the state of Israel were relatively high during the first Intifada (1987-1992), whereas at the beginning of the last two decades, marked with the Oslo accord in 1994, Israel had released a large number of prisoners and reduced the number of detention and arrests until the year 2000 when the second intifada occurred.<sup>358</sup> Since then the dynamic has changed again, reaching a peak in 2006 of nearly 10,000 prisoners in Israeli prisons, but there has been a steady decline since then to a bit more than 7000 in 2009 and less than 6000 in 2011.<sup>359</sup> This information regarding the numbers and statistics of security prisoners in Israeli prisons took a dramatic turn recently when Israel released 1027 of these security prisoners as a result of a deal with Hamas to release an Israeli soldier, Gilad Shalit, who was captured and held by

---

<sup>357</sup> Rosenfeld, M. (2004, p.245) *Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee camp*. Stanford University Press; Ajzenstadt, M. & Ariel, B. (2008, p.365-366) Terrorism and Risk Management. *Punishment & Society*. 10 (4), 355 –374; Harel, A. (2011, p.37) 'Who is a Security Prisoner and Why? An Examination of the Legality of Prison Regulations Governing Security Prisoners', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp. 37–43; Berda, Y. (2011, p.46) 'The Security Risk as a Security Risk: Notes on the Classification Practices of the Israeli Security Service', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp. 44–56; Korn, A. (2011, p.68) 'Prison Policy and Political Imprisonment in Northern Ireland and Israel', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp. 68–82; Baker, A. M. (2011, p.103) 'Palestinian Political Prisoners', in Nadim Rouhana N & Areej Sabbagh-Khoury (eds.) *The Palestinians in Israel- Readings in History, Politics and Society*. Haifa- Israel: Mada al-Carmel-Arab Centre for Applied Social Research. pp. 100–109. Available from: <http://www.mada-research.org/UserFiles/file/E-book-palestinian/eng/E-palestinian-eng.pdf#page=100>.

<sup>358</sup> Isaac, J. (1989, p. 102-103) A Socio-Economic Study of Administrative Detainees at Ansar 3. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 18 (4), 102–109; Rosenfeld, M. (2011, p.4-5) 'The Centrality of the Prisoners' Movement to the Palestinian Struggle against the Israeli Occupation: A Historical Perspective', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp. 3–24.

<sup>359</sup> The details and statistics are from the IPS- Israeli Prison Service Website: [http://www.shabas.gov.il/Shabas/TIPUL\\_PRISONER/Prisoners+Info/prisoners\\_bithahoni.htm](http://www.shabas.gov.il/Shabas/TIPUL_PRISONER/Prisoners+Info/prisoners_bithahoni.htm), which was updated in June 2011. For more information: Baker (2011, p.101-102).



Hamas for more than five years. After years of attempts at deals and negotiations, finally, with the mediation of Turkey, Germany and Egypt the deal was signed and Shalit was released on October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2011, reducing the number of Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli prisons for terrorist offenses to less than 5000.<sup>360</sup>

Nashif described the Israeli prisons as “One of the major sites of Palestinian national movement”,<sup>361</sup> and Hajjar defined it as “part of the sociocultural bonds that unite Palestinians in the Occupied Territories as a community”.<sup>362</sup> Due to their quantity, Palestinian prisoners construct a whole new community inside prison, under a new social space, through the concepts of identity and collectivism and into fully formalised institutions<sup>363</sup>. Hajjar describes it as “a society within society”.<sup>364</sup> Rosenfeld details that the prisoners institutionalised themselves in the late sixties and early seventies while their unique formation gained even further significance in the mid to late eighties up to the early nineties. They have covered handling every aspect of the prisoners’ daily lives and needs such as material and basic necessities in the prison, education as well as supporting the prisoners’ involvement in political discussions and activism.<sup>365</sup>

---

<sup>360</sup> Information about this deal can be found in Israeli newspapers and websites such as:

Haaretz: <http://www.haaretz.com/meta/Tag/Gilad%20Shalit>

Ynet: <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4134408,00.html>

Walla: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=9/1868199> (in Hebrew)

As well as in other international websites such as:

BBC: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15339604>

Guardian: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/gilad-shalit>

<sup>361</sup> Nashif (2008, p.72).

<sup>362</sup> Hajjar, L. (2005, p.209) *Courting the Conflict- the Israeli Military Court System in the West Bank and Gaza*. University of California Press.

<sup>363</sup> Nashif (2008, p. 9); Shaked (2008, p.28) *The Security Prisoners in Israeli Prisons. Roim Shabas*. 26–29. (In Hebrew)

<sup>364</sup> Hajjar (2005, p.207).

<sup>365</sup> Rosenfeld (2011, p.6-7).

The prison experience described by ex-prisoners and further explained by scholars and activists dealing with this topic, is a very significant and meaningful one, both in the personal aspects as well as the social ones. Upon entering prison, the prisoners are asked to declare the organisation to which they belong, while if they do not belong to any specific organisation they are advised to choose one which they find relevant to their social and religious views in order to be entitled to the benefits and support that prisoners receive from the different organisations. From this point on, the organisations supply the prisoner with his basic needs as well as with information about the organisation itself and further education in relation to the conflict, or to general topics. The prisoner learns all aspects relating to the history of the conflict and the organisation's ideology, history, funders and conduct. Most prisoners report being more politically attuned and as having a better understanding of the conflict and the struggle only after they have entered prison, while some of them even develop their leadership skills and abilities, and others have enhanced their solidarity and sense of personal and social identity.<sup>366</sup>

In addition, it seems that education plays a major role in prison, even to a greater extent than outside prison. In prison they have the time, the guidance and the urge. Most prisoners report to entering prison uneducated and finding once there an opportunity to gain knowledge, whether at a high school level or up to university level, while they also declare that they largely enjoy the political and philosophical discussions they have with their fellow veteran prisoners, which serve to open their minds and horizons to different topics they were quite limited to before.<sup>367</sup>

---

<sup>366</sup> Hajjar (2005, p.207-210); Bornstein, A. (2001, p. 556) *Ethnography and the Politics of Prisoners in Palestine-Israel. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 30 (5), 546 –574. And (2010, p.465) *Palestinian Prison Anthologies. Dialectical Anthropology*. 34. 459–472.

<sup>367</sup> Rosenfeld (2004, p.238-239); Nashif (2008, p. 72-73); Bornstein (2010, p.465-466).

According to this introduction prison plays a major role in affecting a person's life, and the findings of this research suggest that in the case of security prisoners in Israeli prisons it plays an even more significant role. Prisons form a unique community and institution which shapes the life and identity of the prisoners as well as the Palestinian society. The following findings will emphasise these differences as well as the unique process this group of prisoners is going through while incarcerated, its outcomes on their conduct in prison and further upon their release.

The present research attempts to illustrate that the group of terrorist leaders in Israeli prisons interviewed for this study do not go through the same painful process of adjustment to incarceration as other prisoners; instead they experience prison as a place to empower themselves. They use the traumatic aspects of prison as a source of strength and exploit the circumstances in order to allow themselves to embark upon a dramatic development in their life and attitudes. Another aspect that might have an immense influence on this process that will be explored in this study is the strong support and care these inmates are exposed to by family, friends, the organisation, and by general Palestinian society who perceive them as the saviours of their people. Furthermore they take advantage of the time during which they are imprisoned to improve their reputation and their chance of being accepted as leaders within Palestinian society, whether in prison or outside. These aspects also relate to the leaders' process of deepening their involvement in the terrorist organisations and activism, and thus influence their radicalisation or possibly de-radicalisation process, as will be detailed next.

### Radicalisation or de-radicalisation in prisons:

Another outcome of imprisonment that has been well researched lately is the radicalisation or de-radicalisation process that terrorists go through while incarcerated.<sup>368</sup> Prisons are often identified as a "breeding ground" for terrorist's radicalisation<sup>369</sup> or even as "universities for terror"<sup>370</sup>. For reasons such as these prisons attract great attention from governments, that invest funds and resources to tackle the matter. A remarkable project conducted by the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) investigated the policies and approaches of fifteen countries around the world towards extremism and radicalisation in prisons. The report emphasised the potential of prisons in bringing extremists together, and allowing them to influence others, as well as continuing their acts of rebellion and religious radicalisation.<sup>371</sup>

Silke illustrates the growing concern around Europe regarding militant jihadi extremists and their ability to influence others while in prison. In his latest book, he details the strategies of different countries towards extremist prisoners. For example,

---

<sup>368</sup> Cuthbertson, I. M. (2004) Prisons and the Education of Terrorists. *World Policy Journal*. 21 (3), 15–22; Cilluffo, F. J. et al. (2007) Radicalisation: Behind Bars and beyond Borders. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 13(2), 113-122; Horgan, J. & Braddock, K. (2010) Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalisation Programs. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 22 (2), 267–291; Silke, Andrew (2011, chapter 9) The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism. Taylor & Francis; Neumann, P. (2010) *Prisons and Terrorism Radicalisation and De-radicalisation in 15 Countries*. Available from: <http://icsr.info/publications/papers/1277699166PrisonsandTerrorismRadicalisationandDeradicalisationin15Countries.pdf>; Gunaratna, R. (2011) Terrorist Rehabilitation: a Global Imperative. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*. 6 (1), 65–82.

<sup>369</sup> Cuthbertson (2004, p.17); Austin (2009, p.641) Prisons and Fear of Terrorism. *Criminology & Public Policy*. 8(3), 641- 646; The Washington Times (2004) Prisons breeding ground for terror? *The Washington Times*. 5 May. Available from: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/may/5/20040505-111705-4604r/>. (Accessed 27 November 2012).

<sup>370</sup> Cuthbertson (2004, p.15); Useem, B. & Clayton, O. (2009, p.562) Radicalisation of U.S. Prisoners. *Criminology & Public Policy*. 8 (3), 561–592.

<sup>371</sup> Neumann, (2010, chapter 3, p.23-28).

the question of whether to have them concentrated in a small number of high security prisons, thus enabling substantial peer pressure towards conformity to the extreme group, enhancing commitment by other prisoners to the cause, and consequently developing "universities of terror" inside the prisons. Or, conversely, whether to spread these prisoners between prisons with other type of prisoners, which potentially runs the risk of sparking off severe security issues, such as riots and congregations of prisoners who plan to commit hostile activities as well as spreading radicalisation activities to non-terrorist inmates and converts.<sup>372</sup>

In most prison systems operating today around the world which deal with terrorist threats, the prisoners organise themselves into very hierarchical and systemised structures for spreading knowledge, ideology and politics of their movements. They also arrange activities against the prison management, such as demonstrations, riots and attempts to escape.<sup>373</sup> Neumann's report details numerous kinds of de-radicalisation or disengagement programmes, which are taking place in prisons around the world. Countries including Afghanistan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore and Yemen initiated programmes at the level of individual prisoners. These mainly consist of religious re-education and professional training, which take care of psychological and sociological needs as well as strengthening

---

<sup>372</sup> Silke (2010, p. 123-127). See also: UN (2008, p.8) *First Report of the Working Group on Radicalisation and Extremism that Lead to Terrorism: Inventory of State Programmes*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/terrorism/pdfs/radicalization.pdf>.

<sup>373</sup> Cuthbertson (2004, p.16); Silke (2010, p. 125); for more examples: Voglis, P. (2002, p.42) *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War*. Berghahn Books; Warnes, R. & Hannah, G. (2008, p.404) Meeting the Challenge of Extremist and Radicalized Prisoners: The Experiences of the United Kingdom and Spain. *Policing*. 2 (4), 402 –411; Bates-Gaston, J. (2003, p.233-255) 'Terrorism and Imprisonment in Northern Ireland: A Psychological Perspective', in Andrew Silke (ed.) *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences*. Wiley. pp. 233–255. Available from: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9780470713600.ch12/summary> (Accessed 2 September 2011).

individuals' commitments to their community and state.<sup>374</sup> Other countries, such as Egypt and Algeria, focus on collective de-radicalisation and disengagement processes, while emphasising the importance of charismatic, structured leadership of the prisoners. Together with government facilitation, it has been claimed that this can achieve remarkable outcomes in changing the attitudes of the prisoners towards committing or even just approving of extreme violent acts.<sup>375</sup>

Different kinds of strategies result in varied outcomes and therefore, in order to understand which approaches will be effective in each country, other factors need to be considered as well. Variables include the type of group that is being imprisoned, whether it is operating against government action or against the existence of the country; the nature of the conflict and the history involved; as well as the basic roots of the ideology, whether it derives from religious, national or other motives.<sup>376</sup> This research locates these root factors as they relate to the Israeli case of Palestinian prisoners incarcerated for committing terrorist acts against the Israeli state and to determine whether there is a suitable de-radicalisation programme in that case.

### Radicalisation in prisons:

Radicalisation as a concept has gained popularity mainly in the last decade and has since influenced the work of a variety of fields such as political science, sociology,

---

<sup>374</sup> Neumann (2010, p.47); for more information on de-radicalisation process in these countries see: Gunaratna, R. et al. (2011) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis.

<sup>375</sup> Neumann (2010, p.39); for more information on De-radicalisation processes in Egypt see: Ashour, O. (2007, p.612-624) Lions Tamed? An Inquiry into the Causes of De-Radicalisation of Armed Islamist Movements: The Case of the Egyptian Islamic Group. *The Middle East Journal*. 61 (4), 596–625; As well as in Algeria see: Ashour, O. (2008, p.8) Islamist De-Radicalization in Algeria: Successes and Failures. *The Middle East Institute Policy Brief*. 2. 11–10.

<sup>376</sup> Neumann (2010); Gunaratna, R. et al. (2011, p.5-8).

law and security studies, as well as private and collective institutions.<sup>377</sup> Neumann argues that the concept of radicalisation, taken from the Latin word *radix* which means ‘root’, allows a further investigation and research on the ‘root causes’ of terrorism which became unpopular after the 9/11 terrorist attack on the US, due its interpretation by some as a justification for the killing of innocent people.<sup>378</sup>

According to the UK Home Office, radicalisation is “a process by which people come to support terrorism and violent extremism and, in some cases, then to join terrorist groups”.<sup>379</sup> However other researchers argue that the concept of radicalisation actually has two meanings. The first one relates to adopting extreme ideas in the sense of promoting radical views which are based on the need for dramatic change to society, while the second meaning relates to the actual committing of political violence. Sageman stresses that most people acknowledge radicalisation in both the same meanings and by doing so they expand dramatically the view on terrorism, due to the large number of people who might support extreme views but who have never actually carried out committing violent acts.<sup>380</sup> Sedgwick argues that it is far more complicated than this. The concept of radicalisation is very confusing due to its use in different ways and different contexts such as security, integration and foreign policy,

---

<sup>377</sup> Dearey, M. (2010, p.1-5) *Radicalisation*. 1st edition. Routledge-Cavendish; Sedgwick, M. (2010, p.480) The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 22. 479–494.

<sup>378</sup> Neumann, P. (2008, p.3-4) ‘*Papers from the First International Conference on Radicalisation and Political Violence- Introduction.*’, in 17 January 2008 London: ICSR- International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation. pp. 3–7. Available from: <http://icsr.info/publications/papers/1234516938ICSRPerspectivesonRadicalisation.pdf>.

<sup>379</sup> Home Office (2009, p.82) *Pursue Prevent Protect Prepare the United Kingdom’s Strategy for Countering International Terrorism*. Papers from the First International Conference on Radicalisation and Political Violence- Introduction. Available from: <http://www.official-documents.gov.uk/document/cm78/7833/7833.pdf>.

<sup>380</sup> Veldhuis, T. & Staun, J. (2009, p.4) *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model*. Available from: [http://www.diis.dk/graphics/\\_IO\\_indsatsomraader/Religion\\_og\\_social\\_konflikt\\_og\\_Mellemosten/Islamist%20Radicalisation.Veldhuis%20and%20Staun.pdf](http://www.diis.dk/graphics/_IO_indsatsomraader/Religion_og_social_konflikt_og_Mellemosten/Islamist%20Radicalisation.Veldhuis%20and%20Staun.pdf); Sageman, M. (2008, p.117) ‘The Turn to Political Violence in the West’, in R. Coolsaet (ed.) *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. pp. 117–130.

which all have different agendas; it therefore obtains a different meaning each time. Hence, according to Sedgwick, the term radicalisation should not be acknowledged as an absolute concept but as a comparative one with a wide range of definitions according to the context.<sup>381</sup> As for the nature of radicalisation, the Global Future Forum (GFF), for example, defines radicalisation as “a process, not an end unto itself and it does not necessarily lead to violence”<sup>382</sup> meaning that radicalisation is not the outcome but the root that can lead to extreme acts, which might sometimes be quite horrific but not always, because it can also turn in to positive deeds.<sup>383</sup>

In this research the term ‘radicalisation’ will be taken to refer to the process that a prisoner goes through while in prison, whereby he adopts extreme views that he did not have before, or else he becomes more extreme in his attitude and conduct than he was before his incarceration.

As mentioned previously, prisons are known to be places of recruitment as well as of the enhancement and development of extreme political views. In prisons there are different kinds of involvement in extreme acts and behaviour. Many inmates who were active before incarceration continue their contribution to the extremist movements, and those who had some background of activity in these movements find the opportunity to enhance their involvement. Likewise, criminal prisoners who were

---

<sup>381</sup> Sedgwick (2010, p.479); see also: Mandel, D. R. (in press, p.9) ‘Radicalisation: What does it Mean?’, in T Pick & A Speckhard (eds.) *Indigenous Terrorism: Understanding and addressing the Root Causes of Radicalisation among Groups with an Immigrant Heritage in Europe*. Amsterdam: IOS Press. Available from: <http://individual.utoronto.ca/mandel/Mandel-radicalisation.pdf>.

<sup>382</sup> Global Future forum (2006, p.3) in their report on: *Radicalisation, Violence and the Power of Networks*.

<sup>383</sup> Fraihi, T. (2008, p.135) ‘(De-) Escalating Radicalisation: The Debate within Muslim and Immigrant Communities’, in Rik Coolsaet (ed.) *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe*. Ashgate. pp. 131–138; Dearey (2010, p.3).



convicted for criminal acts and were motivated to adopt extreme views can become more radical political activists.<sup>384</sup>

Silke notes that recruitment to extreme violent organisations is more prevalent among Islamist prisoners, who are keen to influence non-Muslims, enrolling them in their society and activities. By contrast, nationalist, non-religious organisations such as the IRA are less keen on cooperating with others or recruiting outsiders unless it is for mutual interests or benefit. Examples of such radicalisation processes can be seen in the cases of the Spanish non-Muslim Trashorras, who was imprisoned for criminal offences, converted to Islam in prison, and along with another criminal, non-observant Muslim who was radicalised in prison, Ahmidan, joined an al-Qaeda radical terrorist group that later bombed four trains in Madrid, killing 191 people.<sup>385</sup> Other examples of such phenomena are Richard Reid, known as the ‘shoe bomber’, who was imprisoned in the UK for domestic criminal offences, converted to Islam, and was radicalised in prison and later attempted to blow up an aeroplane en route from Paris to Miami using explosives hidden in his shoe.<sup>386</sup> Similarly, Muktar Said Ibrahim, who was a British citizen, was radicalised in prison and continued this radicalisation process outside, which led to his involvement in the terrorist acts in London on July 2005, killing 52 people and injuring more than seven hundred.<sup>387</sup>

---

<sup>384</sup> See also: Korteweg, R. et al. (2010, p.35) ‘Background Contributing Factors to Terrorism’, in Magnus Ranstorp (ed.) *Understanding Violent Radicalisation: Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 21–49.

<sup>385</sup> Silke, Andrew. (2011, p.127) *The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis.

<sup>386</sup> Warnes, R. & Hannah, G. (2008, p.409) Meeting the Challenge of Extremist and Radicalised Prisoners: The Experiences of the United Kingdom and Spain. *Policing*. 2 (4), 402–411; BBC (2001) Who is Richard Reid? *BBC*. 28 December. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1731568.stm> (Accessed 25 November 2011); Yehoshua, S. (2011, p.22) Terrorist Profiling: Analysing our Adversaries Personalities. *Aviation Security International* 17 (4) p.20–23.

<sup>387</sup> Warnes and Hannah (2008, p.409); as well as BBC (2007) Profile: Muktar Ibrahim. *BBC*. 11 July. Available from: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/email\\_news/6634901.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/email_news/6634901.stm) (Accessed 25 November 2011). For further information on these case studies and more see: Fighel, J. (2007, p.5-8) *The ‘Radicalisation*

Similar processes have occurred in the US, which holds the record for the highest confinement rate in the world. With more than two million prisoners, the risk of prisoner radicalisation is a major potential threat to the country. Islamic ideas were not the first to penetrate into prisons and cause extremist attitudes and recruitment to violent groups. History has shown that US prisons have always been a hub for a variety of different types of extremism, including political right-wing groups, neo-Nazis and racial gangs. Islamist groups have embraced the methods of these other extremist groups in prisons to spread their agenda and recruit prisoners to their movements. The strength of these groups lie in the fact that these processes do not end in prison but continue forcefully upon a prisoner's release, providing the prisoner with a structured community outside and a continuation of support in their ideological education that was provided for them in prison. An example of this process can be found in the case of a prisoner from a state prison in California, Kevin Lamar James, who founded a jihadist group called JIS - Assembly of Authentic Islam. James recruited fellow prisoners as well as those already released on parole to join the group's activities, the main focus of which was the implementation of serious attacks on numerous places in Los Angeles. In this case, they were all caught in advance of their attacks due to a mistake made by one of the members, who lost his mobile phone in a robbery that later exposed the whole movement and its plans.<sup>388</sup>

---

*Process' in Prisons'*, in 25 December 2007 Eilat- Israel: ICT- International Institute for Counter-Terrorism.

<sup>388</sup> Cilluffo, F. J. et al. (2007, p.114) Radicalisation: Behind Bars and beyond Borders. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 13 (2), 113–122; for a more detailed discussion of prisoner radicalisation in the US, see Cilluffo, F. J. et al. (2006) *Out of the Shadows: Getting Ahead of Prisoner Radicalization*. Available from: <http://www.gwumc.edu/hspi/policy/PrisonerRadicalization.pdf>; report by the George Washington University's Homeland Security Policy Institute and the University of Virginia's Critical Incident Analysis Group, number 19.

### De-radicalisation Programs in Prisons:

Ferguson<sup>389</sup> argues that currently there are two common methods that counter terrorism agencies are employing to deal with terrorism: killing those who are involved in terrorism or incarcerating them. While the latter can often lead to further radicalisation of the inmates, allowing them to unite with other extremists and improve their methods and techniques in violent acts, it is nevertheless conceivable that there occurs in reverse a process of de-radicalisation of these inmates in prison or even a disengagement from the terrorist organisations and beliefs. Nonetheless, it seems that since the significant terrorist plot of September 2001, which highlighted the threat of Al-Qaeda and its affiliates around the world, there has been a demand to develop and improve counterterrorism strategies in order to deal effectively with the threat. In the US, although there is no coherent approach toward national counter terrorism strategies<sup>390</sup> there has been an immense investment in funding and resources for counterterrorism measures and strategies.<sup>391</sup> Indeed only recently, in January 2012, the state department established the Bureau of Counterterrorism as an independent office which will deal exclusively with terrorism threats internally and externally.<sup>392</sup>

---

<sup>389</sup> Ferguson, N. (2011, p.112) 'Disengaging from Terrorism', in Andrew Silke (ed.) *The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 111–122.

<sup>390</sup> A special report by the National Security Preparedness Group: Neumann, P. (June, 2011, p.7) *Preventing Violent Radicalisation in America*. Available from: <http://www.bipartisanpolicy.org/sites/default/files/NSPG.pdf>.

<sup>391</sup> Lum, C. et al. (2006, p.489-490) Are Counter-Terrorism Strategies Effective? the Results of the Campbell Systematic Review on Counter-Terrorism Evaluation Research. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. 2 (4), 489–516.

<sup>392</sup> Department Of State. The Office of Electronic Information, B. of P. A. (2006) *2000 (Patterns of Global Terrorism)*. Available from: <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2000/> (Accessed 25 October 2012).

The UK is another noteworthy example of the reinforcement of counterterrorism approaches. With the publication of a new strategy named CONTEST in 2006, which was revised in 2009 and again in 2011, the UK counterterrorism strategy focuses on four main aspects: “*Pursue* is intended to stop terrorist attacks; *Prevent* aims to stop people from becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism; *Protect* will strengthen our protection against terrorist attack; and *Prepare* will mitigate the impact of an attack where it cannot be avoided. *Pursue* and *Prevent* address threats; *Protect* and *Prepare* address vulnerabilities.”<sup>393</sup>

Similarly, the UN commenced an inclusive counter-terrorism strategy, in 2005, based on five main elements: “dissuading groups from resorting to terrorism; denying terrorists the means to carry out an attack; deterring states from supporting terrorist groups; developing state capacity to prevent terrorism; and defending human rights in the context of terrorism and counter-terrorism.”<sup>394</sup> This strategy was widely accepted by the world leaders at the world summit in September 2005, and further revised by the Secretary-General on May 2006 in developing the five elements and suggesting practical measures to improve and strengthen the UN work.<sup>395</sup> Indeed since the launch of the CTITF- Counter Terrorism Implementation Task Force, as part of the implementation of the Strategy, the UN has developed quite a few projects involved in raising awareness to terrorism outcomes, nuclear attacks, and counter terrorism appeals. An example of such a project is the establishment of the rather elaborately termed UNICRI- United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute,

---

<sup>393</sup> Home office (2011, p.40) *CONTEST strategy- The United Kingdom’s Strategy for Countering Terrorism*. Available from: <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/counter-terrorism-strategy/strategy-contest?view=Binary>.

<sup>394</sup> UN (2012b) *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/terrorism/background.shtml>.

<sup>395</sup> Annan, K. (2006) *Uniting Against Terrorism- Recommendations for a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/unitingagainstterrorism/>.

Centre on Policies to Counter the Appeal of Terrorism, in 2010, which deals with initiatives of detection, prevention and early interventions in the possible recruitment of terrorists as well as rehabilitation and de-radicalisation programmes.<sup>396</sup>

Horgan defines de- radicalisation as:

The social and psychological process whereby an individual's commitment to, and involvement in, violent radicalization is reduced to the extent that they are no longer at risk of involvement and engagement in violent activity. De-radicalisation may also refer to any initiative that tries to achieve a reduction of risk of re-offending through addressing the specific and relevant disengagement issues.<sup>397</sup>

Rohan Gunaratna, one of the leading figures in the field of de-radicalisation, or as he phrases it the 'rehabilitation' of terrorists, argues that terrorist supporters and activists believe in a twisted and misinterpreted agenda advocating violence as an acceptable tool to bring about political change, and therefore it is essential that they undergo a rehabilitation process in order to be brought back in to the mainstream.<sup>398</sup> In order to achieve these developments of de-radicalisation, several countries have elected to investigate ways to deal with this growing phenomenon of radicalisation among prisoners, whether on an individual basis or a collective one.<sup>399</sup> Though it might be too early to determine its success due to the fact that it is relatively new, it seems that there are already flaws found in most of the initiatives as well as objections to its conduct and outcomes from varied sources, as will be detailed further.

---

<sup>396</sup> UN (2012a) *Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, CTITF*. Available from: [http://www.un.org/en/terrorism/ctitf/proj\\_counteringappeal.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/terrorism/ctitf/proj_counteringappeal.shtml).

<sup>397</sup> Horgan, J. (2009, p.153) *Walking Away from Terrorism: Accounts of Disengagement from Radical and Extremist Movements*. Taylor & Francis.

<sup>398</sup> Gunaratna, R. (2011, p.65-66) Terrorist Rehabilitation: a Global Imperative. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*. 6 (1), 65–82.

<sup>399</sup> See also: Kruglanski, A. W. et al. (2010) *Aspects of De-radicalisation*. Available from: <http://www.asymmetricconflict.org/index.php/articles/kruglanski-aspects-deradicalization.html>.

The Saudi de-radicalisation program:

A good example of such an initiative can be found in the Saudi Arabian program called the ‘Advisory Committee Counselling Program’, which aims to de-radicalise prisoners who have been charged with terrorist offences. The programme, which functions through the ministry of interior, operates in several dimensions to cover aspects of Prevention, Rehabilitation, and Aftercare (PRAC). Its main goal is to reintegrate these inmates back into society while having them denounce their extremist beliefs and involvement in violent activities. The approach towards these inmates is as victims and not offenders, and thus there are various units responsible for their treatment, such as a special department concerned with their families’ social and financial needs and another accountable for their social or psychological treatment by psychologists, psychiatrists and other relevant specialists in the field.

Additionally, there are subcommittees that deal with specific aspects of the treatment, such as religion, which has a very significant role, where moderate clerics and scholars engage with the inmates in open discussion about their perceptions and understanding of the Quran. Another subcommittee deals with security aspects and hence evaluates the progress these inmates are making within the programme and whether they still present a risk to society or can be released. Another subcommittee is in charge of media aspects and the influence of anti-terrorism programs on television and other means of mass communication to raise greater awareness of the disadvantages of violent behaviour and terrorism.

Furthermore, the inmate undergoes a six week workshop focusing on the studying of various social and religious issues by clerics and social scientists. At the end of the programme the inmate will be evaluated and if applicable will continue to an aftercare programme, where he will be treated individually according to his needs; whether psychological or in terms of basic necessities he lacks, for example employment, accommodation and transportation. It seems that this programme of de-radicalisation, which according to Saudi officials has an eighty to ninety per cent success rate with a low recidivism rate, is the most intense and well-funded available and probably hence the most publicised one.<sup>400</sup> However there are quite a few opponents to the Advisory Committee and the counselling program in Saudi Arabia, who claim that it is being operated illegitimately, withholding information from the public and not being productive at all. It is also criticized for being a very expensive programme that only a relatively wealthy country such as Saudi Arabia can apply, with less prospect of implementation in the rest of the world. Furthermore it is criticized on the basis that rehabilitation measures are based on a specific salafi version of Islam that might be too hard for the prisoners to adjust to once release from prison.<sup>401</sup>

---

<sup>400</sup> Al-Hadlaq, A. (2011, p.61-69) 'Terrorist Rehabilitation- the Saudi Experience', in Lawrence Rubin et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-terrorism*. 1st edition Routledge. pp. 59–69; Boucek, C. (2011, p. 70-90) 'Extremist Disengagement in Saudi Arabia', in Lawrence Rubin et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-terrorism*. 1st edition Routledge. pp. 70–90; Horgan, J. & Braddock, K. (2010, p.276-279) 'Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalisation Programs'. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 22 (2), 267–291; Al-Saud, N. B. A. (2009, p.77-78) 'Saudi Arabia's Strategy to Combat Terrorism'. *The RUSI Journal*. 154 (6), 74–80; Gardner, F. (2008) 'Saudi Jails Aim to Tackle Terror'. *BBC*. 31 January. Available from: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/7220797.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7220797.stm) (Accessed 5 December 2011); Boucek, C. (2007) 'Extremist Re-education and Rehabilitation in Saudi Arabia'. *Terrorism Monitor*. 5 (16). Available from: [http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=4321](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=4321) (Accessed 6 December 2011); as well as (2008) 'Jailing Jihadis: Saudi Arabia's Special Terrorist Prisons'. *Terrorism Monitor*. 6 (2). Available from: [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=4682&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=167&no\\_cache=1](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=4682&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=167&no_cache=1) (Accessed 6 December 2011).

<sup>401</sup> Seifert, K. (2010, p.29) 'Can Jihadis Be Rehabilitated?' *Middle East Quarterly*. XVII (2), 21–30; Boucek (2007); Rabasa, A. et al. (2010, p.62-65) *De-radicalising Islamist Extremists*. Available from: [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND\\_MG1053.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG1053.pdf).

Other examples of de-radicalisation initiatives:

Other programmes of de-radicalisation are known as the ‘soft approach’ as opposed to the combative ‘hard approach’<sup>402</sup> of counter terrorism and these are implemented albeit to a lesser extent in other countries. An example of such a country is *Yemen*, which has suffered greatly from Islamic terrorism since its rise in the nineties and has sought to improve its counter terrorism strategies. Hence, after investigating the profile of its terrorist inmates and activists, it was decided that the focus of the programme should be based on religion and dialogue. The name of the committee established especially for that matter is the Religious Dialog Committee (RDC), which comprises five religious scholars and has at its head a judge generally held in high esteem, Hamoud al-Hitar.<sup>403</sup>

According to this programme, terrorism occurs due to a misunderstanding and twisted knowledge of the country’s religion and culture, and therefore there is a need for better education and advanced discussions to counter these inaccurate and mistaken beliefs. During these discussions, which take place in small groups, the scholars challenge the inmates on their understanding and knowledge of the Quran as well as other aspects of Islamic culture, state and society. At the end of this process, which can involve weeks of debates, inmates are released and eligible for the government’s

---

<sup>402</sup> Guru, S. (2010, p.273-274) Social Work and the ‘War on Terror’. *British Journal of Social Work*. 40 (1), 272 –289; Stracke, N. (2010) Arab Prisons: A Place for Dialogue and Reform. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 1 (4). Available from: <http://terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/15/html> (Accessed 6 December 2011); Seifert (2010).

<sup>403</sup> Al-Hitar (2011, p.110); Horgan and Braddock (2010, p. 275); Brandon, J. (2005) *Koranic Duels Ease Terror*. Available from: <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0204/p01s04-wome.html> (Accessed 6 December 2011); Abdul-Aziz, O. (2008) Judge Hamoud al-Hitar, Minister of Islamic Affairs, Talks about Using Dialogue to Confront Extremists. *Yemen Observer*. 4 June. Available from: <http://www.yobserver.com/reports/10014374.html>



support in employment and reintegration to society – that is, if they agree to abandon terrorism.<sup>404</sup>

As for the successes of this initiative, again there are contradictory opinions. According to Al-Hitar, the programme has achieved the highest rate of renunciation of terrorism by its participants and their full integration back into society and hence has produced a reduction of terrorist acts in Yemen since the beginning of the programme.<sup>405</sup> However, we should be cautious about the basic interpretation of terrorism held by Al-Hitar and the Yemenite authority generally. Inevitably, they have a substantial subjectivity of perspective, for example as to what constitutes a legitimate resistance such as the one, they argue, needed in Iraq, Afghanistan and Israel/Palestine. Moreover, two other factors are worth considering. Firstly, statistics show that the program in fact only has a sixty percent success rate; secondly, there have only recently been attacks on US embassies in Yemen by at least two of the program's graduates. This does not help to support these claims of accomplishments.<sup>406</sup>

Another similar approach is in *Singapore*, where the Ministry of Home Affairs tackles terrorism from two angles - the community and the prisons. A special Community Engagement Program (CEP) was developed in order to get involved with the community and keep harmony between the variety of religious and ethnic groups in the country that were vulnerable to racism as well as to extremist ideas. The CEP cooperates with other communal and private organisations as well as with academic

---

<sup>404</sup> Al-Hitar (2011, p.114-118); Horgan and Braddock (2010, p. 275).

<sup>405</sup> Al-Hitar (2011, p.119-120); Seifert (2010, p.22).

<sup>406</sup> Horgan and Braddock (2010, p. 276); Rabasa, A. et al. (2010, p.52-55).

representatives who play an important role, on numerous projects to promote moderation and anti-racism. These include the publication of books and articles containing information about the danger of racism and violent behaviour, the organisation of discussions and meetings between different racial and religious groups, and job fairs and campaigns to enhance knowledge and awareness of the matter.<sup>407</sup>

The other angle taken by the Singaporean authorities relates specifically to prisons, led by another committee, the Religious Rehabilitation Group (RRG). This committee is founded on the understanding that the perceptions and knowledge regarding religion and ideology of these detainees, mostly from the Islamic extremist group al Jamaah al Islamiyah- JI,<sup>408</sup> are inaccurate and simplistic and promote hatred and violence. Starting with only two clerics, the RRG now comprises thirty seven members, from different educational and occupational backgrounds as well as nationalities and Islamic associations. Their work includes religious counselling and discussions with the prisoners as well as their families, publishing books and articles on counter terrorism and extremist ideas, and cooperation with the CEP on how to integrate these prisoners back in society.<sup>409</sup>

---

<sup>407</sup> Gunaratna, R. & Bin Mohamed Hassan, M. F. (2011, p. 45-54) 'Terrorist Rehabilitation: the Singapore Experience', in Lawrence Rubin et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-terrorism*. 1st edition Routledge. pp. 36–58.

<sup>408</sup> For information on this group- JI: Desker, B. (2003) The Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) Phenomenon in Singapore. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. 25 (3), 489–507; Gordon, D. & Lindo, S. (2011) *Jemaah Islamiyah*. Available from: [http://csis.org/files/publication/111101\\_Gordon\\_JemaahIslamiyah\\_WEB.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/111101_Gordon_JemaahIslamiyah_WEB.pdf); BBC (2010) Profile: Jemaah Islamiyah. *BBC*. 10 March. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/8155240.stm> (Accessed 7 December 2011).

<sup>409</sup> Gunaratna and Bin Mohamed Hassan (2011, p. 38-44).

Arguably, the immense efforts along with strong leadership make this programme a very efficient one, with a relatively low rate of recidivism and wide recognition, even though the threat of terrorism remains severe in the region, largely due to Singapore's location and close ties with the US. Despite its promising outputs therefore, it is clear that greater international cooperation and the combined efforts of Singapore's neighbouring countries must be implemented.<sup>410</sup>

Other de-radicalisation processes are even less structured than the ones mentioned previously and are mostly the initiatives of the extremist organisations' leadership themselves. Such developments occurred, approximately at the same time, around 1997, and with considerable similarity, in *Egypt* and in *Algeria*, where in both countries the main active terrorist organisations declared their renunciation of terrorism and political violence and have since published literature that de-legitimizes violent behaviour and beliefs. In Algeria this organisation was the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS) which was the self-declared armed wing of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). Further to a few rounds of failed peace negotiations between the FIS and the Government of Algeria, the AIS leadership decided to act independently and to declare a ceasefire in order to demilitarize and to 'join' Algerian civil society. In Egypt this group was the *Al-Gama al-Islamiyya*, the Islamic Group (IG), which is considered to be the largest militant group in the country. Both organisations have strong connections with Al Qaeda and long support in the extremist and violent agenda and thus their total renunciation of terrorism and violence was surprising.<sup>411</sup>

---

<sup>410</sup> Ibid (p. 54-57). For information regarding the threat of terrorism in Singapore: Tan, A. (2002, p. 1-18) Terrorism in Singapore: Threat and Implications. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 23 (3), 1-18.

<sup>411</sup> Ashour, O. (2007, p. 612-614) Lions Tamed? An Inquiry into the Causes of De-Radicalisation of Armed Islamist Movements: The Case of the Egyptian Islamic Group. *The Middle East Journal*. 61 (4), 596-625; (2008, p. 1-3) Islamist De-Radicalisation in Algeria: Successes and Failures. *The Middle East*

According to Ashour, there are some variables that might be useful in explaining these rather surprising initiatives. One that he offers is state repression, which caused insecurity among the leaders of these groups as to their ability to protect their followers and members as well as to the efficiency of violence as a tool to promote their cause. Inducements from the government, which were very selective and hesitant at the beginning but later on improved and gathered more collaboration certainly helped. Another variable suggested is the social interactions within the groups while in prison and with other groups and individuals, which opened their minds to see the 'others' as acceptable and thus enhanced their tolerance. Probably the most important variable of influence on the de-radicalisation process was the strong and charismatic leadership that was able to make this decision, changing the agenda and conduct of the entire group and causing most members and supporters to follow.<sup>412</sup> Nevertheless, these initiatives of de-radicalisation were not easy to undertake and a large portion of the group's members and followers found it hard to accept the change; the governments too were suspicious at first. While in Algeria the process was relatively short and lasted only three years, probably due to more pragmatic leadership, in Egypt de-radicalisation is still underway and has not been fully established yet; though it seems as though the progress is positive.<sup>413</sup>

---

*Institute Policy Brief*. 21. 1–10; (2010a) De-Radicalisation of Jihad? The Impact of Egyptian Islamist Revisionists on Al-Qaeda. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 2 (5). Available from: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/36/html> (Accessed 7 December 2011); Gunaratna, R. & Bin Ali, M. (2009) De-Radicalisation Initiatives in Egypt: A Preliminary Insight. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 32 (4), 277–291; Lawrence, A. (2011) 'Non-Kinetic Approaches to Counterterrorism: A Case Study of Egypt and the Islamic Group', in Rohan Gunaratna et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation New Approaches to Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 26–35.

<sup>412</sup> Ashour (2007, p.614-624; 2008, p.3-10).

<sup>413</sup> Ibid (2008, p.10); Gunaratna and Bin Ali (2009, p. 288-289).

Radicalisation or de-radicalisation in Israeli prisons:

During the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, thousands of Palestinians have been charged as members of terrorist organisations, and for committing acts of terror against Israel and its citizens. Those prisoners see themselves as the people who continue the struggle towards achieving the goal of a Palestinian state.<sup>414</sup> Nonetheless, there are no programmes for de-radicalisation in Israeli prisons; the prisoners, who are defined by the Israeli officials as 'security prisoners', do not recognize the legitimacy of the country they are incarcerated in and therefore would not agree to take part in a programme or initiative offered to them by the government of that country. In Israel's prisons, these prisoners organise themselves in what they define as 'Internal order/organisation/regime' which conform to strict hierarchies, similar to those of the terrorist organisations outside prison, although adjusted to their conditions of incarceration. In so doing, prisoners run an administration in prison which functions independently of prison management; they organise everyday life in prison using different committees, such as education, finance, security and religion. Each committee has a leader elected by his prisoner peers. In each organisation, elected leaders are in charge of managing the function of the organisation; a different person is elected as the spokesman and is in charge of all the communications between the prison authorities and the prisoners of the organisation. The main criteria for electing a spokesman are longevity in prison, charisma, reputation among Palestinians outside the prison, and experience in leading prisoners in their struggle with the prison authorities. The spokesmen also need to speak fluent Hebrew, and to understand how

---

<sup>414</sup> Ganor, B. (1991) Cancer and Its Name Terrorism: the National Resistance Movement- the Hamas. *Matara- the Israeli Monthly for Intelligence, Army and Security*. 19. 24-36. (In Hebrew).

to negotiate with higher authorities. Other Palestinian prisoners are not allowed to speak with the Israeli prison authorities.<sup>415</sup>

Eldar points out that since 1974 there has been a change toward democratisation and the leaders have been elected democratically.<sup>416</sup> Ferguson further propounds that prison allows the prisoners to rethink their violent activities and to determine that it was not the best way to handle the situation. At the same time, Ferguson adds that there is ultimately no change in their dedication to the cause and the organisation.<sup>417</sup> In addition, it seems that as a result of attaining education, studying the history and other aspects of Jewish culture, and having relations with Israelis while in prison, the security prisoners' ideological, cultural and even mental approach can change. This study will attempt to allocate these aspects and investigate these assumptions. The research from this study suggests that most terrorist leaders in Israeli prisons go through a gradual process while in prison which enables them to think through the conflict and its conduct. All the while they are experiencing less stressful conditions as well as less pressure from their organisations or social surroundings. Accordingly, they become more pragmatic and capable of considering matters, such as the problematic side of the armed struggle, and its effects on their life and their social surroundings.

---

<sup>415</sup>IPS- Intelligence department (2003) *Memorandum- Political Prisoners*; Rosenfeld, M. (2011, p.7) 'The Centrality of the Prisoners' Movement to the Palestinian Struggle against the Israeli Occupation: A Historical Perspective', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp.3-24; Nashif, E. (2008, p. 9) *Palestinian Political Prisoners: Identity and Community*. Taylor & Francis; Shaked, R. (2008, p.28) *The Security Prisoners in Israeli Prisons. Roim Shabas*. 26–29. (In Hebrew).

<sup>416</sup> Eldar, S (2005) *The Palestinian Leadership in Prison* in 2005 Jerusalem. Available from: <http://www.vanleer.org.il/heb/videoShow.asp?id=29>.

<sup>417</sup> Ferguson, N. (2010, p.112-117) 'Disengaging from Terrorism', in Andrew Silke (ed.) *The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 111–122.

## **Chapter 2: Methodology**

This research while objective and academically independent was conducted in collaboration with the Israeli Prison Service (IPS), addressing a specific interest from its intelligence department for a focus on the terrorist groups' leaders. The prison authorities have encountered the same problem as researchers in this field in terms of the lack of up-to-date information on the leaders themselves. It is important to note the full cooperation of the prison authorities with the research, by allowing the researcher access to the numerous interviewees, as well as any information needed for conducting the study, such as the interviewees' files and other data established from other prison personnel. Furthermore, the criminology department at Bar-Ilan University has long and productive relationship with the IPS in matters of research and practical work, with the different kind of prisoners incarcerated in Israel. Therefore the IPS was very familiar with and approved of the educational background and supervision the researcher received throughout her work.

### **Research characteristics:**

The study is qualitative, based on in-depth semi-structured interviews that focus on individuals' life stories. Qualitative research is designed to obtain a detailed, thorough and comprehensive description of processes and subjective interpretations, within their natural context, while focusing on a small sample of people who have experienced the investigated phenomenon. In addition, a qualitative approach allows for a rich and deep understanding of people, and group perception of language and meaning, which is essential for the study of these individuals and groups, as well as

different phenomena. Whereas phenomena can be understood only from the internal perspective of the ones who experienced them, their values are crucial in order to understand the specific interpretation.<sup>418</sup>

Data collection was gathered from in-depth interviews, personal files and any other resources, such as the media and prison personnel, which was analysed by the researcher. The interviewees were asked mainly open questions regarding their background and personal life. The interview would normally start with the researcher requesting that the interviewee tell her about him or herself, where they grew up and their family life history. This included details about their family structure, status, relationship, affiliation and conduct as well as similar details regarding their social environment. During these conversations the researcher often asked for the interviewees' thoughts and feelings towards these raised issues, as well as about their personal perceptions. Furthermore, the interviews also touched upon other relevant topics related to the conflict, their role in the struggle and their rationalisations for their conduct and activism. The researcher asked questions regarding their leadership role and their decision-making process, as well as their perception of their imprisonment and the process they went through since they had been incarcerated.

The personality aspect was dealt by specific questions relating to their personal characteristics and their own perceptions of it. They were asked about their behaviour in different circumstances and other specific characteristics such as: their sense of self-esteem and responsibility, impulsiveness, and their ability to feel remorse. The

---

<sup>418</sup> Creswell, J. W. (1998, p.14-16) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. Sage Publications; Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005, 2-3) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Third. SAGE.



researcher was guided by the Hare's psychopathy check list: screening version, the PCL:SV, as to the list of characteristics relevant for the use of the tool, as well as for getting a better knowledge as to the link between the interviewees' personality and their conduct and behaviour. The interviewees were free to raise other issues if they wanted, and the discussions moved to different topics, that eventually formed the base of the social-psychology profile.

In addition to the qualitative analysis of the interviews, the data was analysed based on Hare's Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version (PCL-SV), which is a twelve-item clinical rating scale. The items are: 1. Superficial, 2. Grandiose, 3. Deceitful, 4. Lack of remorse, 5. Lacks empathy, 6. Does not accept responsibility, 7. Impulsive, 8. Poor behavioural control, 9. Lacks goals, 10. Irresponsible, 11. Adolescent antisocial behaviour, 12. Adult antisocial behaviour.<sup>419</sup> These characteristics as well as others that were researched in this study, such as self esteem, were measured mostly from the interviewees' own perceptions of themselves. Such characteristics were gathered from the interviews but also combined with other relevant resources, such as the interviewees' personal files, media and information from prison personals.

The PCL-SV can be used as a screening tool for psychopathy among people imprisoned or otherwise institutionalised, or as a stand-alone instrument for research with non-criminals, including civil psychiatric patients. It was developed by Hart and his colleagues, among them also Hare who initially created the first version of the tool which contains twenty items and relates more to general Psychiatric purposes.<sup>420</sup> The

---

<sup>419</sup> For the list of PCL-SV's 12 items, see appendix 6: PCL-SV item description, p. 354-356.

<sup>420</sup> Hare, R. D. (1991) *The Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R)*. Toronto, Ontario: Multi Health System; (1996b) Psychopathy and Antisocial Personality Disorder: A Case of Diagnostic Confusion. *Psychiatric Times*. 13 (2), 1-6.

PCL-SV is used as a predictor of violence among individuals with mental disorders and was found to have a high internal consistency and validity.<sup>421</sup> Due to these characteristics of focusing on violent aspects, which are more relevant to terrorists, as well as its possible use amongst non-criminal and other diverse populations, the PCL-SV was found to be relevant to be used in this research.<sup>422</sup>

Furthermore, this tool does not require any additional effort from the participants such as the filling in of forms or other questioners, as most other tools demand.<sup>423</sup> The researcher established the information needed for the PCL-SV from the analysis of the interviews and from other sources of information she gathered from the prisoner's personal files, the media and other publically available data. These factors as well as the sensitivity of the research and the possible high levels of suspicion that it could engender made it the most suitable tool to be used in this research. Furthermore, the researcher found the PCL-SV significantly sufficient in examining the link between political and criminal violence and whether this link actually exists. The results established from this tool, on whether these leaders have a psychopathic personality or not, might shed some light on understanding this phenomenon and its motivation better. No other tools<sup>424</sup> were taken into consideration largely due to their complications but also due to the researcher's interest mostly in the interviewee's life

---

<sup>421</sup> Hart, Forth and Hare (1994, p. 81-98) 'Psychopathy as a Risk Marker for Violence: Development of a Screening Version of the Revised Psychopathy Checklist', in John Monahan & Henry J. Steadman (eds.) *Violence and Mental Disorder: Developments in Risk Assessment*. University of Chicago Press. pp. 81-98; Hart, Cox and Hare (1995) *The Hare Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version*. Toronto: Multi-Health Systems; see also Hare (1996b, p. 2).

<sup>422</sup> Hare (1991, 1996b).

<sup>423</sup> Examples of such tools are: the Munich Personality Test (MPT) A Short Questionnaire for Self-Rating and Relatives' Rating of Personality Trait, see Zerssen, D. et al. (1988) The Munich personality test (MPT)- a short questionnaire for self-rating and relatives' rating of personality traits: Formal properties and clinical potential. *European Archives of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience*. 238 (2), 73-93; and the MMPI-2 personality test see: Butcher, J. N. (1999) *A beginner's guide to the MMPI-2*. Vol. xiii. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.;

<sup>424</sup> As the ones mentioned in the last footnote for example.

stories, perceptions and insight. Though as detailed in the introduction of this thesis, opponents of this tool argue that it reinforces the link between criminal behaviour and personality disorder and causes a misinterpretation of the two.<sup>425</sup> However, this is the only link, which will be made in this study to examine criminal behaviour in relation to personality characteristics of the interviewees who participated in the research, which were found to be relevant due to their current location in prison.

### **Research participants**

The participants in this study were eighteen leaders of the major Palestinian terrorist organisations Fatah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad; ten of them were elected leaders in the organisations and eight were spokesmen. However, they were all considered dominant leadership figures within their respective organisations, both by their fellow prisoners and the prison authorities. Thus they were regarded as equal leaders for the purposes of this study with no differentiations between them. The participants were chosen randomly by the IPS intelligence department (which is responsible for intelligence and security issues relating to prisoners) according to their seniority and willingness to participate in the study. The IPS Intelligence Department possessed far more information than was available in the public domain relating to which prisoners were in the most senior leadership positions. Their recommendations were further supported by external sources such as press reports and statements by the organisations themselves. In every prison in which the researcher attended, she met with the head of the intelligence in that prison, who was in charge of the security prisoners and was very familiar with the leadership structure of the different

---

<sup>425</sup> See chapter 1- introduction to this thesis p.65-66.

organisations. After a discussion regarding the list of leaders present in the prison, the officer contacted the ones that seemed to be most relevant to the study. The choice was made judging by their status among the prisoners; their ability to express their thoughts within their respective organisation; and for being very active both inside and outside of prison. This was done after the researcher had set out the parameters of the project to the IPS Intelligence Department identifying the research needs and type of participants required. Twenty prisoners were approached by the IPS to participate in the study. Only on one occasion did an interviewee arrive to be interviewed and decide that he was not interested in participating, and return to his cell. One other prisoner refused to participate before even arriving at interview; the rest of the interviewees, eighteen in total, who did participate, were willing to be interviewed and cooperated fully with the research process.

### **Interviewees' demographic details**

The eighteen interviewees in this research consisted of 94% males; with the exception of one female, the other seventeen interviewees were all male. Sixteen were adults and two minors, thus resulting in a total average age of thirty three. Excluding the two minors, who were both aged seventeen, the average of the sixteen adults was thirty five, where the youngest was twenty eight years old and the oldest was forty four.

Eleven out of the eighteen, or 61%, had been sentenced for life, while the average sentence of the other seven interviewees was eighteen years. 85% of the interviewees had already served more than ten years in prison.

Seven out of the eighteen of them, or 39%, were married; and 56% of them, ten out of the eighteen, came from a medium to high socioeconomic background.

The researcher chose to focus this research on prisoners, due to the social and political importance of this group and their influence within and outside of prisons. As will be described further in this thesis, many Palestinians view these prisoners as the vanguard of their society, the people who sacrificed the most and therefore are treated in great respect by their social surrounding, while the fight for their release stands at the centre of Palestinian demands.<sup>426</sup> The leadership of these prisoners also serves as a leading body within prison that contributes to the decision making of the organisations outside, an example of this can be seen in the 'Prisoners document', mentioned in further detail later in this thesis, written by the main leadership in prison, calling for unity of the different Palestinian sections and moving towards agreement with Israel.<sup>427</sup> Furthermore, the researcher considered that these prisoners while incarcerated for long periods of time must go through some process during this time, which might have significant outcomes and should be investigated properly in order to allow deeper understanding into any outcomes. As will be detailed these prisoners do indeed go through a unique process, which has considerable influence on their mind-set and behaviour as well as their conduct within the organisations.<sup>428</sup>

The table below describes the distribution of the interviewees according to the organisation they affiliate with and their role in prison, whether they are elected leaders or spokesmen.

---

<sup>426</sup> For information regarding the status of security prisoners see chapter 7 in this thesis p.262-263.

<sup>427</sup> For information regarding the 'Prisoners document' see chapter 7 p.267-268.

<sup>428</sup> For information regarding the unique process these prisoners are going through in prison see chapter 7 of this thesis, p.267-280.

Table 1- interviewees according to the organisation they lead and their role in prison.

	Not related to any organisation	Islamic Jihad	Fatah	Hamas	Total
Leaders		1	5	4	10
Spokesmen	1 (spokesman of all security prisoners)		6	1	8

### **Research procedures and ethical measures**

As previously mentioned, the research was conducted with the collaboration of the Israeli Prison Service (IPS) and its intelligence department, which was interested in acquiring significant new information in order to improve the IPS's understanding and handling of the incarceration of this particular group of prisoners. However the research came about as a result of an initial approach by the researcher to the IPS' research department. Understanding the need for primary research to take the field forward and in light of the lack of genuine originality in much of the existing literature, coupled with the researcher's own interest in the subject as a criminologist and a Middle East expert, she proposed to the IPS that she conduct the research as an independent researcher along the lines set out above. The IPS approved the project and the researcher was granted access to the prisons, the security prisoners, and all information and files relevant to the study. This was made possible after passing a

range of formal procedures and the approval of the IPS research department,<sup>429</sup> as well as ethical approval to carry out the research from Bar-Ilan University, Israel, where the researcher spent the first two years of the research, supervised by Professor Sarah Ben-David.<sup>430</sup>

The traditional method for analysing the significance of the messages from the various interviews is by systematic construction of conclusions from the text. This technique works by creating categories that will allow references to the material presented, and numbering the frequency of the specific item. The assumption is that the accumulation of content under one of the categories is the most effective indicator of meaning.<sup>431</sup> This method is found to be suitable for research where there is insufficient previous information available for more structured investigation, and where there is a phenomenon that needs to be explored. Such a method is thus naturally relevant to this study, where there is a unique phenomenon with barely relevant information available.<sup>432</sup> The interviews were conducted in prisons all around Israel where security prisoners are kept; the average duration of each interview was six hours, in Hebrew and data was recorded verbatim, in writing, by the researcher.

Before every interview, the researcher prepared by reading the interviewee's IPS files, and additional information about them was gathered from newspapers, the internet and prison personnel. This necessary procedure assured the credibility of the research

---

<sup>429</sup> See appendix 2- IPS Research approval, p.347.

<sup>430</sup> See appendix 1- Ethical approval document - Bar-Ilan University, p.345-346.

<sup>431</sup> Padgett, D. K. (1998, p.76-79) *Qualitative Methods in Social Work Research: Challenges and Rewards*. Sage Publications, Inc; Perakyla (2005, p.872-874) 'Analysing Talk and Text', in Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Third. SAGE. pp. 869-886.

<sup>432</sup> For more information, see Creswell (1998, p.17-18).

by allowing the comparison of the data that was gathered from the interviews with other sources of information.

A driving principle of this research has been the paucity of existing primary material. There have been only a few studies conducted in Israeli prisons involving security prisoners and these are mentioned at different points throughout this thesis. The first and most famous one is by a psychologist, Professor Ariel Merrari, who studied suicide terrorism.<sup>433</sup> This research involved interviews with failed/intended suicide bombers who were incarcerated in Israeli prisons, and was conducted around the year 2000. This study resulted in numerous articles and books describing the profile of a suicide bomber and had significant theoretical and practical implications.<sup>434</sup> Another study related to suicide terrorism with a focus on moral aspects, conducted by a criminologist, Dr Anat Berko, it also included interviews with ‘want-to-be’ suicide terrorist incarcerated in Israeli prisons. This study also produced extensive new literature on the subject.<sup>435</sup> Both studies are similar to the present study in their social science approach to the subject, due to being conducted by social scientists, the research methods and their innovative findings; however the studies’ population is quite different, as is the conduct of the research itself. This study focuses on the leaders of terrorist groups, as opposed to the members of the organisations who were the subject of the other studies, and hence as this study will detail further, they not only share unique aspects of leadership qualities, but their general characteristics are

---

<sup>433</sup> He was quoted in numerous studies and publications such as: Atran, S. (2003) Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science*. 299 (5612), 1534–1539; Moghadam (2003, p.65-92) Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 26(2), 65-92; Post, J.M et al. (2009, p.21-26) The Psychology of Suicide Terrorism. *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes*. 72 (1), 13–31;

<sup>434</sup> Merari, A. (2010) *Driven to Death: Psychological and Social Aspects of Suicide Terrorism*. Oxford University Press.

<sup>435</sup> Berko, A. (2007) *The Path to Paradise: The Inner World of Suicide Bombers and Their Dispatchers*. Greenwood Publishing Group.



different.<sup>436</sup> These differences led to a different set of interviews as well as uniquely relevant findings. Furthermore, while the other studies were conducted as group studies involving a number of researchers in the interviews, as well as in the analysis of the information, this study was conducted by a single researcher, in a private set of interviews with analysis by the same researcher. This may have allowed the participants to feel more comfortable with the study and might even form a more consistent mind-set towards the general outcomes.<sup>437</sup> Other studies of this type involving terrorist prisoners which have been conducted in other prisons around the world, and have been discussed in more detail in the introduction of this thesis,<sup>438</sup> such as Silke's work in the UK<sup>439</sup> and Cilluffo, Cardash and Whitehead's in the US<sup>440</sup>, show the different characteristics of the prisoners as well as the different approaches in handling them.

Upon the third year of her PhD studies the researcher transferred to King's College London University where she expected to improve the quality of the research. The UK is known to have a more appreciative attitude towards the topic of psychology and profiling of terrorism and hence has better developed resources and a variety of specialist in this field. During her studies at King's which came after the primary research stage of the study, the researcher registered as signatory to the Code of Conduct for Serendipitous Research, in order to cover the ethical aspects in case of

---

<sup>436</sup> More information on the leadership characteristics of the interviewees in this study see chapter 6 in this thesis p. 227-254.

<sup>437</sup> Corbin, J. & Morse, J. M. (2003, p.335-354) The Unstructured Interactive Interview: Issues of Reciprocity and Risks when Dealing with Sensitive Topics. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 9 (3), 335–354.

<sup>438</sup> See chapter 1- introduction of this thesis p.111-112.

<sup>439</sup> Silke, A. (2011, p.123-134) Terrorists and Extremist in Prison: Psychological Issues in Management and Reforms. *The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis;

<sup>440</sup> Cilluffo, F. J. et al. (2007) Radicalisation: Behind Bars and beyond Borders. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 13 (2), 113–122.

additional, unscheduled interviews or collection of new needed information to the research.<sup>441</sup>

Ethical challenges related to prisoners interviewees:

The ethical challenges in conducting research involving prisoner interviews are well studied in recent years due to a growing awareness of the ethical issues involved in these types of studies. Until the late 1960s there was little or no supervision of studies conducted in prisons and hence there were repeated examples of misconduct and abuses of prisoners as result of participating in studies during these years.<sup>442</sup> Prisoners are a vulnerable group, mainly due to their status in society and lack of freedom and privacy, and also as a result of vague boundaries between their lack of freedom and justified human rights.<sup>443</sup> In the early 1970s in the United States, public awareness influenced the government to finally establish the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioural Research (NCPHSBBR). The code of Federal Regulations for protection of human subjects<sup>444</sup> provides explicit regulations governing human research, focusing on informed prisoner consent and tight supervision of the justification and conduct of the research.<sup>445</sup> Moreover, in order to include prisoners in any study today, numerous ethical aspects must be taken in to consideration: the possible risks involved in the

---

<sup>441</sup> See appendix 4- email conformation for registration as signatory to the Code of Conduct for Serendipitous Research at KCL, p.349.

<sup>442</sup> Gostin, L. O. et al. (eds.) (2007, p.1) *Ethical Considerations for Research Involving Prisoners*. National Academies Press; Byrne, M. W. (2005, p.223-225) Conducting Research as a Visiting Scientist in a Women's Prison. *Journal of professional nursing : official journal of the American Association of Colleges of Nursing*. 21 (4), 223–230.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid.

<sup>444</sup> Title 45, Part 46 (45 CFR 46).

<sup>445</sup> Gostin, L. O. et al. (2007, p.2); Byrne (2005, p.225-226); see also: US Department of Health and Human Services. Office for Human Research Protections IRB Guidebook online- [http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/archive/irb/irb\\_guidebook.htm](http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/archive/irb/irb_guidebook.htm)

study and the justifications for taking these risks as well as the need to make them minimal. The benefits of the study must be significantly for the greater good of the participants. Furthermore, the prisoners must be fully aware of any information relating to the study and their consent must be genuine, having no influence on their personal status or wellbeing in prison.<sup>446</sup> To some extent the recent interest and enhanced literature and regulations on ethical approval relates to research in prisons, led to an overprotected attitude towards prisoners as participants in research and hence made it extremely difficult and sometimes even not worthwhile for researchers to undergo the process needed for conducting the research in prison and hence the number of studies done in prisons fell.<sup>447</sup>

Established ethical principles used in qualitative studies<sup>448</sup> were adhered to in this research; accordingly, the purpose and procedure of the research was clarified to the interviewees, as well as the significant potential benefits of the study such as improving the communication and understanding of their needs as well as the minimal risks of it to their incarceration. More specifically, the researcher explained to each interviewee that the study aimed to garner a better understanding of the social and psychological aspects of their lives, which might allow a better understanding of their mind-set and behaviour as part of a unique group of security leaders in prisons. No interviews were carried out without the interviewee's full willingness to participate. In cases of refusal to participate, the interview was cancelled. As was mentioned before,

---

<sup>446</sup> Arboleda-Fl rez (1991) Ethical Issues Regarding Research on Prisoners. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 35 (1), 1–5.

<sup>447</sup> Moser, D. J. et al. (2004, p.1-2) Coercion and Informed Consent in Research Involving Prisoners. *Comprehensive Psychiatry*. 45 (1), 1–9; Patenaude (2004, p.69-70).

<sup>448</sup> For information regarding ethical considerations in qualitative research see Fontan, A. & Frey, J. H. (2005, p.715-716) 'The Interview- from Neutral Stance to Political Involvement', in Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. third SAGE. pp. 695–727.

only two participants refused to be interviewed and they did not take part in the research.

The researcher also clarified to the interviewees that she did not work for the prison authorities or any other security or intelligence institute, and that she was a student who was working on her thesis, and therefore was not part of the dynamic between the prisoners and the authorities and did not have any obligations to the IPS (apart from the publication of the initial analysis of the study in its in-house journal). Furthermore, the prisoners acknowledged that they were free to discuss and answer any issue or question they viewed as suitable, and were free to decline to speak on any subject that they found uncomfortable or inappropriate for discussion. They were promised anonymity during the research process and upon the publication of the results; their names and participation were not to be exposed and the data analysis from this study would be used for explaining a general phenomenon of leadership in prison rather than specific personal profiles. Only the researcher is in possession of the interviews' content and the personal information that was shared with her.

Prior to the interviews and after the researcher explained in detail the procedure and conduct of the study, the interviewees signed a document, formulated by the IPS research department, which suits these types of studies. The document details the study purpose and procedures as explained to them by the researcher, and stipulates the anonymity promised to them and their full inclination to participate.<sup>449</sup> Interviewees were not handcuffed during the interview process, and the interviews were conducted privately. No security personnel, prison staff, or any other prisoners

---

<sup>449</sup> See appendix 3- A copy of this document- prisoner's letter of consent, p.348.

were present during the interviews in order not to jeopardise the interviewee's confidentiality and ability to speak freely. An emergency button was located in the room for the safety of the researcher, but never during any of the interviews did the researcher feel threatened or in a dangerous position, and she never had cause to use this option. Other ethical measures relating to the study were covered by the ethical approval committee taken place at Bar-Ilan university, as was mentioned previously,<sup>450</sup> which focused on the interviews structure and contents through avoiding any possible risk for the interviewees as well as increasing sufficiency of the result to all concerns.

---

<sup>450</sup> See appendix 1- Bar-Ilan ethical approval, p. 345-346.

### **Chapter 3: Results - Sociological Influence Factors**

#### **Introduction**

All interpersonal behaviour involves mutual processes and coordinated interaction by larger social units, such as groups and even whole societies, is only possible because our behaviour is guided by pervasive and shared forms of social influence. The remarkable capacity of human beings to cooperate and collaborate with each other and to establish ever-more complex forms of social organisation provides ultimate evidence for our highly devoted ability to influence and to be influenced by others.<sup>451</sup>

This chapter will focus on the basic social influence aspects such as: social economic status, marital and family status, social surrounding characteristics and its relation to terrorism and religion, within the terrorist leaders' lives, as well as on the general social profile that emerges from the analysis of that information.

According to Turk, sociology's substantial contribution to terrorism research is primarily because it highlights terrorism as a social phenomenon. Yet, the social research and publications in the field of terrorism are quite limited; most publications and studies relating to terrorism are presented from a political, strategic, international relations or historical point of view. Therefore it is important to elaborate on the social aspects relating to the leaders of the terrorist groups with the purpose of

---

<sup>451</sup> Forgas, J. P. & Williams, K. D. (2001, p.3-4) *Social Influence: Direct and Indirect Processes*. Psychology Press.

addressing a significant gap in the literature with relevant information.<sup>452</sup>

Furthermore, terrorism is found to be a very complex phenomenon that cannot be explained by only one parameter;<sup>453</sup> hence, in order to understand the broader social-psychological profile of the leaders, there is an acute need to investigate the social aspects relating to the leaders' lives. These social elements are accountable for most developments as well as opportunities available to them.<sup>454</sup>

The social categories elaborated on in this chapter are:

1. Socioeconomic status.
2. Adolescence.
3. Marital and family status.
4. Relations with the family.
5. Social environment related to terrorism.
6. Perceptions relating to the terrorist organisation.

## **1. Socioeconomic status (SES)**

---

<sup>452</sup> Turk, A. T. (2004, p. 271) Sociology of Terrorism. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 30. 271–286; Vertigans, S. (2009, p. 1) *Militant Islam: A Sociology of Characteristics, Causes and Consequences*. New York: Routledge; El-Said, H. & Barrett, R. (2011, p.208-210) 'Radicalisation and Extremism that Lead to Terrorism', in Jane Harrigan & Hamed El-Said (eds.) *Globalisation, Democratisation and Radicalisation in the Arab World*. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 199–235; Harrigan, J. & El-Said, H. (2010, p.241-242) *Globalisation, Democratisation and Radicalisation in the Arab World*. Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>453</sup> Walter, C. (2004, p.479) *Terrorism as a Challenge for National and International Law: Security versus Liberty?* Springer; Post, J. (2006, p.17) 'The Psychological Dynamics of Terrorism', in Louise Richardson (ed.) *The Roots of Terrorism*. CRC Press. pp. 17–28; Schmid, Alex P. (2011, p.56) *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*. Taylor & Francis.

<sup>454</sup> Ranstorp, M. (2007, p.5) *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction*. Taylor & Francis.

Similarly to the finding of other studies mentioned at the introduction to this thesis,<sup>455</sup> related to SES status and terrorism, the majority of the terrorist leaders, ten out of the eighteen interviewees, considered in this research effort, were also found to be from middle class families, while some of them even came from quite wealthy families who travelled abroad occasionally, wanted for nothing economically and held steady jobs. Evidence for this conclusion can be found in the words of interviewee number 12, who described his home circumstances thus:

I was born in Lebanon to a wealthy family, we are seven siblings. My dad was a professional chef who worked all around the world, not just in Lebanon and used to come home once in a while apart from the summer when he was home all the time. My mom is a housewife and my brothers are working, one of them just finished his master degree and one of my sisters lives in Venezuela.

This interviewee serves as the main spokesman of the security prisoners in Israeli prisons; he does not affiliate himself with any organisation and in Israeli prison since he is a minor, meaning he has joined terrorist organisation and committed terrorists' acts since a young age, but it seems that in his case it has no relation with financial deprivation due to his statement which reveal a status of a very affluent life.

Others described having functional families who own successful companies, such as interviewee numbers 9, an Islamic Jihad member, and number 15, a Fatah affiliate and others who mentioned members of the family who work in academia, such as interviewees 2, 10, 8 and 18 - the first two of them are members of the Hamas and the second two are from the Fatah. Some even declared of obtaining high positions within the terrorist organisations, where they cover all their financial needs. The latter group consisted of interviewees' numbers 3 and 13, who are Fatah leaders, and interviewee

---

<sup>455</sup> See chapter 1- introduction to this thesis p. 38-42



number 11 who is a Hamas member. The variety of organisations linking to this category reveals that it is a general phenomenon that does not relate to a certain type of organisation.

Yet, a significant minority of the interviewees considered, 44%, do not share the same fortune as the above and described a very low socioeconomic situation and severe issues of undeveloped and dysfunctional social surroundings. An example is interviewee number 4, a Fatah leader who states:

The situation at home was very hard, dad barely worked, I studied until the age of 16 and then I quit school and went to work because my dad was sick. I worked in a garage at night and in a factory during the day. My brother was a 'shahid' (martyr) killed by the IDF, another brother is a prisoner here with me and another does not deal with politics, he is also sick at home and needs to go every month to Jordan for treatments.

According to these interviewees, most of these poor circumstances were related to the political situation that forced them to live in bad conditions, such as refugee camps where they lacked basic needs. Only few of them took responsibility for their dysfunctional social surroundings and the unbearable situation at home. As interviewee number 17, a Fatah leader as well, describes it:

We never had good things in my family, never travelled together or had fun, only beatings, my dad used drugs and alcohol and used to beat us all the time. I could not stay there anymore. I used to live in the streets; this is the reason why I preferred to live in prison.

This interviewee is a minor that serves as a leader at the youth section in prison. His violence actions were a result of his poor circumstances at home, which he openly described. However, according to the general findings of this category in relation to the social economic status of the interviewees, the economic deprivation was not the main motivation for becoming involved in terrorism; the majority of interviewee had

a fortunate background and affluent homes. The next category will elaborate more on this background relating to the interviewees' adolescence.

## **2. Adolescence**

The testament of the interviewees relating to the way they perceived themselves during their adolescence is divided exactly in half. Nine of the interviewees illustrate that they were quite mischievous adolescents, who disregarded authority, were violent and rude towards their teachers and family members, and behaved inappropriately in general. However, most of them, 77%, testify to having achieved very good grades and to being relatively successful at school. The second half of the group details that they were well behaved adolescents, who cared about their studies and conduct at school as well as at home, respected adults and were thought highly of in return. Interviewee number 4, a Fatah leader, explains:

I was quite a mischievous youngster; I used to ride my bicycle on a hillside and destroyed everything along the way, animals, cats and dogs. We were a group of teenagers and I told everyone what to do. We had our area and we protected it, that no one will damage it or harm anyone. It is not like in your (i.e., the researcher) area that people do not know each other. I was an excellent student, always went to school and achieved very good grades. We have like a mafia in our area so if someone needed my help I would have beaten others in order to help him and it happened many times... but I never got in to troubles or was arrested by the police, I was a good person and never beaten anyone for no reason.

The majority of the leaders do not have a criminal background from their childhood and the few who were charged with criminal acts as adolescents committed relatively minor offences related to property. However, none of these offenders testified to their criminal background themselves or even admitted to such activity when confronted

about it by the researcher. The information related to their criminal background was gathered from their files and criminal records. This can explain the attitude of the interviewees towards delinquency and their desire to present a rather decent and honourable image for themselves as leaders, as well as for the organisation.

Furthermore, the vast majority of the interviewees, fifteen out the eighteen, describe themselves as 'leaders from birth',<sup>456</sup> who took on leadership roles from a very young age in varying capacities– whether responsible for others in the family, at school or in the neighbourhood. As interviewee number 2, a Hamas leader, describes it:

I was not like everyone during adolescence, I had a different path, and I felt like I have something different from the others... I was born with the characteristics of a leader but you have to develop it. Anyone who has it since childhood cannot hide it. It always followed me in life, in all periods, at school, on the street. It is inside you and without even noticing it you find yourself committed to things even if it is not relevant to you. If someone needs help you feel like you have to help him. It comes natural to me and I have just enhanced it.

This category elaborates on the initial background of the interviewees and how they perceived themselves during childhood. Nonetheless, no specific pattern can be extracted from analysis of this data due to relatively equal perceptions from all interviewees of both types of youngsters: mischievous and provocative versus good behaving and responsible ones. Though the majority of them, whether the ones who testify to being destructive kids or the decent ones, contend they had leadership qualities and responsibilities during this period of childhood and claim it has continued since then.

---

<sup>456</sup> As will be further elaborated on chapter 6 of this thesis regarding the leadership aspects of these interviewees, p.228-230.

### 3. Marital and Family Status

Although most of the interviewees in the present research came from a high socioeconomic status, the vast majority of them fit the criteria propounded by Caldwell.<sup>457</sup> All of them are Muslims and most of them came from very large families with an average of nine children to a family. Only two of the interviewees have less than five children in their families.

Only a small majority of the interviewees in the present research, eleven out of the eighteen participants, are single who never married and have no children. Most of them were involved in terrorist activity since their youth or were arrested during that time. Those who did marry and have children did it despite the difficulties involved and the chances of being arrested or dying. As interviewee number 9, an Islamic Jihad member, describes it:

I got married seven months prior to my second arrest; I met the girl by myself, she was 17 and her family didn't want us to get married but eventually they agreed. I told her on our first date that I'm a member of the Islamic Jihad and therefore wanted by Israel and might die due to that. I also told her that we won't be able to have a big party but only a secret one. It was hard for her but eventually she agreed.

These characteristics of the interviewees' families status reveals a cultural preference that suit well with the aspect relating to the size of the family, where most of the families are quite large, with more than nine people in a family. However, these findings do not correspond with the marital status acceptable in these societies, due to the fact that the majority are not married. Even though it is a small majority, it might

---

<sup>457</sup> Caldwell (1986, p.175-177).

be explained by the difficult circumstances these interviewees face when following the terrorist path.

#### **4. Relations with the Family**

Most of the interviewees' families in the present research match the description of traditional Muslim families and, correspondingly, the vast majority of them testify to having very good and tight relations with their families. There is a strong sense of commitment towards the family as a whole while sacrificing their own needs, whether financial or personal. Interviewee number 3, a Fatah leader, for example, described how he worked day and night and eventually was able to build a house for his family and another one for his brother, but he was caught and incarcerated before he managed to build one for himself. Or interviewee number 1, also a Fatah leader, who had twelve brothers and sisters and had to leave school at the age of twelve to work in three different jobs in order to support the family financially.

However, even though most of the families approved and greatly supported their activities in the different organisations, in the case of opposition by the families to these actions, as four interviewees expressed, the interviewees disobeyed and continued. This fact reflects the importance they have allocated for this path even beyond the most sacred thing in their culture, the family, for which they have learned to give up their own individuality. As interviewee number 8, a Fatah leader, describes:

my father was a teacher and wanted us to study and become educated but things have changed since the intifada and we had lots of arguments, he did not support the armed and violent struggle, he thought that there are other ways to handle the occupation and did not want me to join the organisation, he even offered to pay for me to study

abroad but I felt that it is not enough and joined the Fatah in order to deepen my fight in the occupation.

Furthermore it seems that most, of them, nearly 84% expressed their respect for their fathers as the leading figure in the family, explaining the need for total obedience to his word. Second in priority according to the hierarchal structure for the majority of the interviewees is the big brother, if applicable, who has to be treated with respect and honour, and with compliance. Interestingly, even those who were not the older sons in the family felt the need to take responsibility, to be in charge of the family members and to make the decisions regarding the conduct of the family; as interviewee number 2, a Hamas leader, explains that he was the middle child in a family of twelve children but still had a major influence on his father, whom he describes as the leading figure of the family as well as the representative of the family to outsiders; this interviewee was the only one able to discuss with his father matters of the family and to influence him whenever necessary. This is probably due to the fact that all the interviewees are defined as active leaders who have the charisma and attitude to push boundaries and to be influential in every aspect of their lives.

The sisters in the family are expected to be taken care of, to be supervised and to have minimum opportunity for their own decision making. The interviewees as brothers felt very protective of their sisters and monitored their steps. For example, interviewee number 6, a Fatah leader, emphasised this by explaining that he was over-protective towards his sisters due to his fear that they would be used by the Israeli intelligence as collaborators; therefore he took a great deal of control over their lives and limited their freedom. However, the others were less extreme while still very involved in the family decisions regarding the education of the girls in the household, dealing with

questions of whether they would go to university or stay at home to help their mother, their marriages, etc. Another interesting finding relating to this is that most of the interviewees, even the very religious ones, believe that a woman should be educated. The reasons are varied; examples include in order for them to be able to teach their children or have a profession that would help other women such as a doctor or a nurse and thus to protect their modesty, not allowing other men to treat them.

With regard to the mothers, the majority of the interviewees spoke favourably of their mothers, mentioning them as the closest and most loved figure in the family, the person with whom they could share their secrets and who would always have a warm shoulder for them when needed. This is attested by interviewee number 17, a Fatah leader:

I love my mom, she is everything for me, and whenever I could have done something bad I would think of her and avoid it. When I'll be out of prison, I do not want to get married I just want to stay home with my mom.

This finding suggests that generally, in relation to the concept of family, most interviewees meet the cultural standards of having close ties with their families, admiring their fathers as the head and most important figure in the family and appreciating their mothers. Furthermore, they take great responsibility for their siblings, even those who were not the eldest, and were particularly overprotective of their sisters. The only discrepancy relating to the traditional family profile, as described throughout this category, is interviewees' disobedience in case of family objections to their involvement of with terrorist organisations and terrorist activities.

## 5. Social environment related to terrorism

Only two of the interviewees in the present research declared that their social surroundings had no relation to terrorism. Both of them are Fatah members from Jerusalem and according to them terrorist organisations are not very active in that area. Furthermore, their explanations for committing acts of terror are totally different. Interviewee number 17, a Fatah leader in the youth section, claims that he did not join any terrorist organisation, that it is not in his interest and that he committed the violent act in order to be in prison and avoid the bad conditions and awful treatment he had at home, being abused by his violent father and suffering from poverty and other hardships. From his point of view, he did it only as an escape from a horrible life and not from any extreme ideology. The situation for interviewee number 18, a Fatah leader in the women section in prison, was entirely different. She came from a very affluent family where both her parents were lecturers at university and none of her close family or friends were advocates of any terrorist organisation. From her account, she was fascinated by the conflict and the organisation's way of handling it and thought she must contribute her part in spite of her family's objections, as can be understood from her words:

None of my family is involved in any terrorist organisation, it is only me. Since I was very young, around seven or eight years old, I was fascinated by it, I saw what is happening on television and read about it in the newspapers and that was the thing that has interested me the most, and even though my family completely objected I kept on being involved in it.

All the other interviewees stated that their social surroundings were entirely involved in the political arena and thus the organisation's activities were quite broad, whether in school or in the neighbourhood. As interviewee number 13, a Fatah leader detailed,



My father was a member in the Fatah 40 years ago; all my brothers are in the organisation as well. I have two cousins who are shahids (martyred) and some other cousins of mine are in prisons. The whole social environment is involved in the organisation. It was like that since I was young and learned about the organisation at school. I felt like I need to join and be an active member, I had to help the country to deal with the conflict and the Israelis.

Four out of eighteen of the interviewees claimed their families were not actively involved in the organisations although they supported the ideology it represents. Therefore it seems that their initiative to join these activities came mostly from friends, neighbours, teachers or other acquaintances, as interviewee number 16, a Hamas member, explains:

I have joined the organisation at the age of sixteen due to my social environment which is very politically involved. It is a refugee camp, so everyone lives it and you cannot avoid it. Fatah was considered to be quite central and I was interested by it, though none of my family is an active member nonetheless they all support the ideology it represents.

However, it is important to note that although most of the interviewees' social surroundings were involved actively or morally in the organisations, still many of the interviewees say that their close families did not want them to participate or to be incarcerated and could not accept that they committed such acts. Interviewee number 8, a Fatah leader, explains:

A person who sees his friends die in front of him in his own eyes, his whole life is changing. I looked for weapon and joined the squad. I did not think of anything, not my mom or dad or that our house might be ruined. Now I look at my parents eyes and I think of what I have done to them, my dad wanted me to be a teacher, I feel ashamed, cannot talk about it with him during visits, he wanted his son to be somebody and not in prison.

The findings of this category show a distinct, clear pattern of the major impact the social surrounding of the interviewees has in relation to their participation in terrorist activities and organisations. This immense influence regarding these deeds emerged

by the advocacy of the terrorists activities throughout their childhood and all the way to their adulthood, whether by their closest family kinship or by other members of the society such as teachers, youth movements or varied neighbours and friends. The last category will focus on the interviewees' perceptions towards these terrorist organisations and activities.

## **6. Perceptions towards the terrorist organisations**

### Joining the organisation:

As was detailed in the introduction to this thesis, the main three terrorist organisations incarcerated in Israeli prisons are: Fatah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad, and these three constitute the affiliation of the interviewees who participated in this study. Furthermore, as was also detailed previously, these organisations are quite different in their conduct and attitude towards the conflict, though they all advocate a violent confrontation against the Israeli occupation and share the main goals of the struggle, whether through religious beliefs or a secular ideology. This last category in a chapter which deals with the social aspects of the interviewees' lives will also explore the social aspects in relation to the terrorist organisations. It analyses questions regarding the stage in their lives when they become involved in the organisation and its activities, and their motivations for doing so, addresses how they perceive the organisation and its codes and conduct, as well as their abilities to continue the work and the essential communication with the main leadership and activists outside of prison.

Analysis of the data in the current study reveals that only four interviewees argued that they joined their organisation only since they were incarcerated, since they had to choose an organisation to affiliate with when they entered prison. All of them are Fatah members and they explained it differently. Interviewee number 1 explains his actions as childish, saying they led to crucial outcomes which he never intended and were not as part of an organisational act. Interviewee number 4 claims that it was a case of circumstance, where he was asked to assist in a terror attack and he agreed at first but regretted it later and was arrested for his alleged attempts. Interviewee number 15 was arrested for minor offences as part of childish conduct and was convicted for a very short period, but in prison his behaviour escalated and he killed a suspected collaborator and was sentence to life. The last interviewee in this category is a minor who committed his violent act in order to be imprisoned and escape miserable and difficult circumstances at home.

Nonetheless, the vast majority of the interviewees, fourteen out of eighteen, joined the three terrorist organisations before they were incarcerated and were arrested for committing terrorist acts in the name of these organisations. Apart from two Fatah members who started their involvement as adults – one joined the organisation at university in his early twenties and one joined in his mid-twenties – all the other interviewees in this group were involved in their organisations since childhood. Among this group were all the Hamas and the one Islamic Jihad member, as well as the other eight Fatah leaders, where the range of the ages at which they joined were between eleven and seventeen. As can be emphasised by the words of interviewee number 13, a Fatah leader:

I was a minor when I joined the organisation still at school and together with my friends we learned all about the organisation and we got

involved in its activities. I did it because I felt that I have to do it. Personally I felt that I have to help my country and my people dealing with the struggle with Israel and all that.

This is a Fatah leader who is very dominant in the organisation and was involved in it since a very young age, though, throughout his youth, he was also involved in criminal activities and was arrested for some of those activities. Correspondingly, the findings of this study suggest that most interviewees were involved in their terrorist organisation since a fairly young age, mostly due to an intense social process which strongly advocates for involvement in these activities.

#### Perceptions of the organisation's codes and conduct:

The interviewees described their perceptions regarding the organisation they affiliate with in different terms; however some common features arise among the statements of all the interviewees, as well as some aspects shared by Fatah, a secular organisation, versus the religious organisations of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, as will be detailed further:

#### *Main similar perceptions among all interviewees-*

One of the main aspects all interviewees share in relation to the organisation is the primary goal of fighting the occupation and redeeming the Palestinian people from Israeli control. Furthermore, they viewed fighting against soldiers and settlers as the right way of achieving this goal and did not support killing civilians. As to the question regarding suicide bombers and other terrorist activities that killed and injured many civilians, the answers for those in secular versus the religious organisations

were different. The Fatah members explained it as such the organisation was forced and drawn into, due to circumstances. As interviewee number 3, a Fatah leader, detailed:

We do not believe in suicide bombers, the Fatah was dragged in to it because of the circumstances and the difficult struggle, but it is not our style. We fight against the occupation, we believe in self-sacrifice but not in suicide, it is not heroism as far as I see it and I have said it before out loud.

On the other hand, the Hamas affiliates perceived suicide bombings as a religious compromise which is not advocated normally but which has strong support in Islamic scripts in extreme cases, where the struggle against Israel is definitely considered as one. As interviewee number 2, a Hamas leader, clearly explained:

I divide the suicide bombing activities to two- against the military and against civilians. If the soldiers fight against whom they supposed to fight against then it is an honourable army but when they hurt civilians then all boundaries are broken. The Islam says that it is not allowed to hurt women, elderly and children but we are in a war and that is why it is happening. Religiously it is forbidden, but it is also said in the Quran 'teeth for a teeth and eye for an eye', if you are dealing with someone who is not considerate you should not be considerate as well. Hamas is based on the beautiful things in the Quran of no killing and that is the reason I affiliate with it. People do not blow themselves up because they are in a good place.

This statement, uttered by a very dominant Hamas leader, can illustrate the incompatibility shared by most of the religious terrorist organisations affiliates who interpret the words of the Quran in a radical interpretation that suits their own interests and does not seem to be expressed widely by moderate Muslims around the world.<sup>458</sup>

---

<sup>458</sup> For more information regarding the origins of the radical Islam see Sageman (2004, chapter one- The Origins of the Jihad, p.1-25); See also Esmail, A. (2007, p.248-251) Towards A Psycho-anthropological View of Religious Violence. *International Review of Psychiatry*. 19 (3), 243–251.

Another common view shared by the interviewees is their observation regarding the organisations they are affiliated with as a legitimate political movement, and not as terrorist organisations. As interviewee number 7, a Fatah leader, asserts:

Some of my family are active members in the organisation and some are just students but we are not terrorist, the whole Europe do not think we are terrorists, they understand that we fight for what is ours, what we deserve to have; we do not kill for no reason. I invite you to go to my family, sit and talk with them and you will see what a good family it is, that we love people and we do not look at who they are, every Jew that entered our areas as part of a trip we have no problem with it but to kill people and destroyed our land that is not acceptable to us.

Another discrepancy in a statement coming from a Fatah leader which one of his charges is kidnapping and killing two Israelis who were dining in a restaurant in one of the Palestinian towns around his area. He explains this incident as revenge and an outburst of anger for the killing of a senior Fatah member by the Israeli army, yet it reveals inconsistency with the way he perceives Fatah's views and actions.

The last joint perception is related to the leadership of the organisations. From both Fatah and Hamas, there are complaints about the general leadership of the organisation who, according to them, were supposed to do everything in their power to take care of their followers and instead have deserted them to stay in prison and do not do enough in order to save them from incarceration by the Israelis. As can be seen by the words of interviewee number 8, a Fatah leader:

I am not sorry for what I have done but I feel that our leadership has forgotten us. My friends had died and we were counting on our leadership to save us and they have played with us instead. I used to receive instructions from Tunis (where the main leadership of Fatah was based), now they are bringing people from outside to replace the leadership in the organisation and I am sitting in prison, this is not acceptable but it does not mean that I regret what I did because I am not.

*Different perceptions among the organisation*

The main different aspects regarding the organisations that rise from statements by members of the Fatah versus the Hamas and Islamic Jihad were regarding the ideology of the organisations. Whereas the Fatah leaders expressed the need for a practical solution and the understanding of two states to two people, members of Hamas and Islamic jihad organisations focused more on the importance of religious ideology and fighting the occupation at all costs. Neither of the religious organisations seems to articulate any practical solutions to the conflict and further found it necessary to highlight the Fatah's corruption and bad leadership, which they do not suffer from. As interviewee number 5, a Hamas leader, expressed in his statement:

The goals of Hamas are first to convert the whole Palestinian society to religious Islam and to show them that Fatah are corrupted, that takes millions for themselves on the expenses of the Palestinian people and then to get rid of the occupation. All this must be made out of dialogue and not via force.

The prominent perception of these religious leaders is the ability to make others accept Islam and become religious in a peaceful way. They all truly believe that the sovereignty of Islamic religion is good for everyone and as they insist on convincing the researcher of this study, it would be a positive outcome to Israel as well. These views were expressed by the interviewees, around the year 2006 - the same year Hamas won the elections. Less than a year after, in 2007, Hamas took control of Gaza. Almost four years later, in a report from 2010, Sayigh argued that Hamas seems to have adapted well to the situation and construct a rather stable and administrated system. Nonetheless, it also aspired to 'Islamize' the entire population and to further

deepen its religious control over numerous social institutions as mosques, committees, youth and religious movements. According to Sayigh, Hamas also supports other radical branches of the organisation that promotes religious laws and religious behavioural that is being demanded from the society.<sup>459</sup> This leads to the question of how substantial the leaders feel regarding their place via the organisations outside of prison and do they feel they contribute throughout their activities in prison to the situation outside.

#### Communication with the organisation outside prison:

In spite of the desire of most interviewees to continue their leadership role upon their release from prison and their contribution to the general work within the organisations,<sup>460</sup> as well as the strong support they receive from the organisation outside of prison,<sup>461</sup> actual contact with the organisations is quite difficult from within prison. Most of them described the technical difficulties of communicating with the organisations outside as having a negative effect to their continued activism from within prison. Throughout the years, the Israeli prison system (IPS) has discovered various methods for passing information and plans for terrorist operations to the organisations and terrorist activists outside of prison through lawyers, families and other prisoners who were released or transferred to other facilities. Accordingly,

---

<sup>459</sup> Sayigh, Y. (2010, p. 4-5) *Hamas Rule in Gaza: Three Years On*. Available from: <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB41.pdf>; for more information regarding Hamas suzerainty in Gaza: Milton-Edwards (2008) *The Ascendance of Political Islam: Hamas and Consolidation in the Gaza Strip*. *Third World Quarterly*. 29 (8), 1585–1599; Jensen, M. I. (2006) 'Re-Islamising' Palestinian Society 'From Below': Hamas and Higher Education in Gaza'. *Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal*. 56 (1), 57–74.

<sup>460</sup> See chapter 6 that deals with the leadership profile of the interviewees, p.248-249.

<sup>461</sup> See chapter 7, p.258-262.



immense measures have been taken to address and combat these attempts.<sup>462</sup> Though, like other imprisoned terrorists around the world,<sup>463</sup> the prisoners are doing all they can to continue operating from inside prison, the connection is quite limited and not allowing a clear line of communication and activism from within prison to the outside.

Furthermore, the interviewees are aware of their honourable status among the Palestinian people but due to the limitations they are facing, they feel not very influential from within prisons. Hence, they tend to plan their steps and activism carefully for the time they will be released. As interviewee number 10, a Hamas leader, explains:

There are few ways to work in the movement outside; there is the violent way and the political way in which you spread the ideology in the society, and that is what I am going to do, prison does not intimidate me, I sacrificed myself and my family and besides I am disappointed from our society that they do not fight, I feel alone in the battle and I am staying and fighting because the society at least have extensive respect and appreciation to those who sacrifices themselves and that give me the strength to keep on fighting. I have no influence on the outside. It is different than the way it is present in the media, that the Hamas has four influential divisions and we are one of them, but it is so difficult to communicate with the outside and hence it is hard to make any influence, apart from situations that we need something specific then we send a lawyer to deal with it and ask regarding the information we need to know.

Nonetheless, the general public image of the security prisoners - especially the leadership within prison – is as a source of major influence and contribution to the conduct of the organisations and the conflict, hence they are seen as a group who

---

<sup>462</sup> Virtser, A. (2005, p.8) *Security Prisoners Incarcerated in the Israeli Prison System*. In Hebrew. Available from: <http://www.ips.gov.il/NR/rdonlyres/64FFF90C-4D22-43EE-A87B-7318EAE7048D/0/bitcnoneemnet.pdf>.

<sup>463</sup> Cilluffo, F. J. et al. (2007, p.114-115) Radicalisation: Behind Bars and beyond Borders. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 13 (2), 113–122; Warnes, R. & Hannah, G. (2008, p.402-411) Meeting the Challenge of Extremist and Radicalized Prisoners: The Experiences of the United Kingdom and Spain. *Policing*. 2 (4), 402 –411.

unites Palestinian society.<sup>464</sup> The ‘prisoner document’ that is mentioned in more detail in chapter seven of this thesis,<sup>465</sup> which established in 2006 by the main leadership in prison in order to assist with the internal conflict in the Palestinian society and was found to be adequate by all sides of society, is a good example of an initiative performed by this group. However, no other significant initiatives have been done since then.

According to this category there seems to be some contradiction between the external image of the security prisoner leadership and their perceptions regarding their influential role in the conflict. This ambiguity might be explained as being part of their practical pragmatism that is revealed in chapter seven of this thesis.<sup>466</sup>

## Conclusions

This chapter touched upon some of the main social aspects related to the interviewees’ lives and their contribution to their decision making process, especially in relation to their involvement in the terrorist organisations and activities. The main findings regarding the social profile of the terrorist groups leaders explored in this chapter are as follows: it appears that, as in other studies that relate to social issues and terrorism, most of the leaders come from affluent families and had no financial deprivation. However they do fit the criteria of a traditional Muslim family with regard to size, which is very large with an average of nine children to a family, and

---

<sup>464</sup> Marcus, I. & Zilberdik, N. J. (2011) *Abbas Glorifies Terrorist Prisoners*. Available from: [http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc\\_id=5794](http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc_id=5794).

<sup>465</sup> See chapter 7 of this thesis p.267-268.

<sup>466</sup> See chapter 7 of this thesis p.279-280.

for the close relations between the members to the extent of self-sacrifice for the greater good of the family. As for the marital status, it seems that a small majority are single, arrested at an early age and therefore unable to marry prior to their arrest. As for their childhood, most of the interviewees were found to be involved in political activity from a young age and even took some leadership roles in their respective organisations.

Furthermore, most of them do not have a criminal background and were not involved in juvenile delinquency. Their social environment was found to be significantly supportive of political acts as well as the organisations' ideologies and activities. Another influential aspect in the interviewees' life is the organisation, where most of them perceived it as legitimate political movement that aims at fighting the occupation and ending the Palestinian struggle with Israel; though they also expressed shared sense of disappointment with their leadership outside prison for not solving their issue of incarceration. Furthermore, the secular versus the religious organisations voiced different opinions regarding the ideology of the group; Fatah seems to present more practical solutions while Hamas focused on the importance of religion and disregarding other options. The last important aspect regards the interviewees' ability to influence the organisations decision making process outside prison, which the interviewee found to be minimal, whereas it is quite inconsistent with their image within the Palestinian society of such who pull the strings from their captivity.

The findings suggest that none of the aspects such as social economic status, marital and family situation or even the strong bond these interviewees have with their close families have a significant influence on their decision to join violent movements.

However, other aspects such as their experiences during their adolescence, their social surrounding, their perceptions of and involvements in the terrorist organisations and activities as well as the ideology and conduct of the organisation itself, all had significant influence on the interviewees' process of choosing this path.

Respectively, their inborn quality of leadership followed them throughout their childhood. In a society struggling with constant conflict, the interviewees found themselves strongly involved in political activities through varied organisations that are well routed within Palestinian society. The way to choose which organisation to affiliate with relates to the other aspects dealt with in this chapter, including a person's social surroundings, his family, neighbourhood, school or even youth movements he affiliates with which all influence the individual to become involved in the organisation. Furthermore, the intense advocacy towards this activism as well as the massive support the individual receives due to his involvement in the organisations encouraged him to engage entirely in this activity to the extent of sacrificing everything for it.

Furthermore, due to their involvement in the movements since a very young age, the organisation's ideology and conduct are major catalysts that shape their entire formation, where the ideology and the righteous cause are engraved in their entity and they are willing to give up everything to serve it. They do not see themselves as terrorists but as people who fight for a noble cause and for what is theirs. Nonetheless, there seemed to be some contradictions in their perceptions regarding their actions towards achieving these goals, where both secular and religious actors condemn killing civilians but justify it by subjective interpretation of the Quran or by

delegating responsibility to a higher power and say they were drawn in to it. And, in spite of their total commitment to the organisation and the cause, they still express feelings of disappointment toward the leadership who does not do enough to save them.

## **Chapter 4: Results- Personality Profile**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will explore the personality profiles of the leaders and will focus on whether they possess a criminal personality or not. Numerous personality traits were brought up during the interviews when each interviewee described his or her own personality traits. The analysis of the findings revealed six themes where each theme represents a personality feature; some even include subcategories that expand the core theme itself. Hence, the personality characteristics are divided into the following six themes:

- 1) Manipulativeness– Is the interviewee a schemer who uses devious means to attain his goals? Does he regard himself as being particularly persuasive and as someone who always gets his own way?
- 2) Responsibility– Does the interviewee regard himself as a generally responsible individual or maybe an impulsive one? Will he invest excessive efforts in order to achieve his goals? Has he endangered his environment by the use of drugs and alcohol or irresponsible use of firearms? Is he an adventurous person who lives on the edge? And moreover, does he prefer the favour of others rather than himself?
- 3) Behavioural inhibitions– Does the interviewee have the ability to manage anger or to cope with difficult situations that test his patience, and the ability

to use rational common sense to deal with such situation? Is he capable of adapting to stressful situations? How does his social environment perceive him in this regard?

- 4) Ability to feel remorse – Does the interviewee express regret or remorse over certain events or situations in his past where he could have and should have behaved otherwise? Is he able to admit that he made mistakes, generally, as well as specifically with regard to the harmful deeds he may have committed? And how does he cope with past mistakes of this kind?
  
- 5) Self-evaluation – How does the interviewee perceive of and assess himself generally? Does he have high, average or low self-esteem? All interviewees related to their own typical personality traits and how they describe themselves. Some spoke about the personal character traits that indicated their personality, while others related to personal character traits in the context of their immediate environment.
  
- 6) Other social characteristics: Were there any influential factors in the interviewee's life that lead him or her to choose a certain path, or is he or she free of influence from any near or distant external factors? Are these interviewees characterised as being rebellious? Do they have a sense of creativity? Or are they pessimistic and suspicious people? How do they perceive their interpersonal communication abilities? Do they describe themselves as reclusive?

The concept of personality serves as the heart of this chapter and therefore it begins with an initial review of the literature regarding the definition and development in the study of personality. Furthermore the ‘big five’ theory, which is a general classification method for the various personality traits, will be detailed as well as personality typologies and profiles. These all will lead to the survey of the types of criminal and terrorist personalities that will both be compared for the sake of exploring the possible linkage between the interviewees and the antisocial personality. This will be done by the use of Hare’s check list<sup>467</sup>, which is a checklist to reveal an psychopathic personality disorder.

This research will investigate some of the characteristics which relate to antisocial personality, and an analysis will also be made relating to the extent of their correspondence with the leaders of the terrorist groups who participated in the study. The findings will be presented in a qualitative manner, as well as by revealing the results of Hare’s check list.<sup>468</sup> The three features- manipulateness, responsibility and deficient behavioural inhibitions – will be analysed here first.

### **1) Manipulateness**

The concept of manipulateness applies to people who are manipulators, i.e. people who typically use lies and who use deceit in order to achieve their aims as well as manipulate the situation in their favour. A manipulator will distort facts and reality and will use all kinds of manoeuvres as well as charm to persuade the interlocutor to

---

<sup>467</sup> Hare, R. D. (1991) *The Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R)*. Toronto, Ontario: Multi-Health Systems.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid



give him anything he wants.<sup>469</sup> The findings of the present research, as were analysed based on interviewees' statements, focus on the use of manoeuvres by the interviewees as well as their ability of persuasiveness and attaining anything they want. These findings are detailed below:

### 1.1) Use of manoeuvres

Half of the interviewees claimed they would use manoeuvres and manipulations to attain their goals, while the others claimed they would only ever use honest means and that they considered all schemes as unacceptable. In the words of interviewee number 9:

It depends on who I am dealing with. If it is an enemy I will use ruses or any other means to save myself, except for non-religious or forbidden means like photographing him in bad situations (compromising situations), and the like. But if I need to know if someone is bad, I will do anything to get the information. Even if I need to use tricks, I will make every effort to find out about his blunders.

Interviewee number 6 expressed a contradictory view: "I do not use ruses, not everything is worth any price. I never lie to attain something; I am always sincere and say what I think, even if others do not like it."

Interviewee number 9 is an Islamic Jihad member, while number 6 is a Fatah member, which might explain the difference in their attitude as to the extreme need to use any mean necessary to fight the enemy. The Islamic Jihad is an established radical

---

<sup>469</sup> Brown, J. M. (1997, P. 137-138) Manipulativeness and Dialogue. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*. 4 (2), 137-144; for more on this concept: Ackerman, F. (1995, p. 335-340) The Concept of Manipulativeness. *Philosophical Perspectives*. 9. 335-340; Baron, M. (2003, p. 37-54) Manipulativeness. *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*. 77 (2), 37-54.

religious organisation while the Fatah is considered a more secular, less extreme and more pragmatic organisation.<sup>470</sup>

## 1.2) Persuasiveness

Most of the interviewees, around 77%, claimed they are highly persuasive and that they are easily able to convince others that they are right and to cause them to act accordingly. This was best expressed by interviewee number 1, a Fatah leader:

I would catch drug dealers, car thieves and people who sold their lands to Jews, and I was very good at it because I always managed to persuade people to give me what I wanted ...I can persuade anyone to do what I ask him, even to kill someone. I am good at persuading people .... It reached a point where I could persuade anyone to do what I wanted, even if it meant killing or hitting another. There is no such thing as 'can't' – every effort must be made to go all the way.

This statement as well as the general attitude of the interviewees as to their strong ability to affect others' decisions can be explained by the fact that they are all leaders, and as such, almost by definition, they are likely to have the abilities and the skills to influence others.<sup>471</sup>

On the other hand, a few interviewees expressed reservations about their ability to persuade others and conditioned it on factors such as the other person's personality, the situation, etc.

I have the ability to explain and to put things in order in my mind and to express them logically. I can carry on a dialogue for twenty hours, depending on the other person. If the other person wants it and is open to being persuaded, I can persuade him. There are things I am not persuasive about. I cannot convince you that what I did was right. If someone does not want to be persuaded but only wants to make

---

<sup>470</sup> For more information on the differences between the organisations see chapter 1- introduction to this thesis p.17-27.

<sup>471</sup> For more information regarding leadership characteristics see chapter 6 in this thesis, p.227-254.

problems, I cannot persuade him otherwise. In general I have no problem persuading others ... I think that the purpose of dialogue is not to persuade. The main purpose is to learn what the other person thinks and to tell him what I think, and then to persuade. (Interviewee number 9).

### 1.3) The ability to attain anything

Many of the interviewees claimed they have the ability to get anything they want, if they want it badly enough. "They call me 'a whale', which means that I am a big fish that takes what it wants. I could get anything I wanted, even by telephone." (Interviewee number 1, a Fatah leader), while others claimed they cannot get everything they want, no matter how much they want it, as can be seen from the words of interviewee number 7, a Fatah leader:

I am not always able to get everything I want. I can persuade others and am good at it. If necessary, I would make a plan, but so far I have not had to do this. I would use any accepted means to get what I want ... I cannot solve everything, even if I invest effort.

As can be seen, many of the interviewees self-reported that they would use devious ways and manipulations to achieve their goals, while others reported that in the end they always get what they want. The majority of interviewees regarded themselves as having high persuasive abilities and are able to convince others to do anything they want them to do. Nevertheless the findings in this study do not indicate a strong inclination towards manipulative personality and deviousness among the interviewees.

Nonetheless, only a few of the interviewees reported attributing high importance to truth and the ability for self-honesty and honesty towards others. According to interviewee number 3, a Fatah leader, who explained:

It is important for me to tell the truth at any price. One cannot run from the truth. I believe in always telling the truth, even if it sometimes messes up my life, when I should have kept quiet. But I believe that the day will come when I will gain from it.

## **2) Responsibility**

The origin of the word ‘responsibility’ comes from the Latin word ‘respodeo’, meaning ‘I answer’, which implies that the subject is answerable or accountable for an action.<sup>472</sup> Hence, responsibility is a social phenomenon and normally it exceeds individuality by the basic requirement of being responsible mostly towards others. In addition, some factors can affect a person’s responsibility such as the use of drugs and alcohol, as well as conditions of mental or psychological disabilities.<sup>473</sup> Responsibility can also be explained by a duty or obligation that a person has and he feels responsible for it, while the extent of his actions or inactions will determine the consequences and results for this responsibility.<sup>474</sup> The findings of the present research, as were analysed from the interviewees’ statements, will focus on varied aspects of responsibility; these would include such factors as their personal responsibility, and would they take any actions towards attaining their perceived goals, as well as placing the favour of others before theirs. Other aspects of irresponsibility were raised, such as being impulsive without thinking things through, as being an adventuress who takes risks, or by using drugs and alcohol that might affect decision making and a person’s conduct in a negative way. Using firearms is another aspect relevant to these interviewees who consider this method as a legitimate

---

<sup>472</sup> Lucas, J. R. (1993, p.5) *Responsibility*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

<sup>473</sup> Staddon, J. (1999, p.146) ‘On Responsibility in Science and Law’, in Ellen Frankel Paul & Fred D Miller (eds.) *Responsibility*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 146–174; Auhagen, A. E. & Bierhoff, H. W. (2001, p.1) *Responsibility: The Many Faces of a Social Phenomenon*. Routledge.

<sup>474</sup> Kaler, J. (2002, p.327-328) Responsibility, Accountability and Governance. *Business Ethics: A European Review*. 11 (4), 327–334.

means to achieve their goals, and where it is seen as a great possibility to injure others by using these means irresponsibly. All these aspects will be detailed below:

### 2.1) Personal responsibility

Most of the interviewees stated that they are personally very responsible for their actions and for everything that happened in prison, as can be seen from the words of interviewee number 6:

I am a very responsible person and it is a part of my standard of living. My people know that I am responsible and even though sometimes I can do all kinds of nonsense, at the moment of truth I will be there and will make the right decisions.

This interviewee is a Fatah leader who is very senior in the organisation; despite his relatively young age by the time of the interview, and notwithstanding his liberal opinions, which are sometimes seen as unacceptable by even a secular organisation as the Fatah, he is known in prison for being responsible by his decisions and deeds, and he is continually elected and re-elected as a leader.

### 2.2) Actions or inactions towards attaining responsibilities

Some interviewees described themselves as investing all effort into attaining their goals, or getting what they want. For example interviewee number 10 stated,

When I set a goal I am stubborn about attaining it. Success is from God. If I need to solve something, I put all else aside and invest all my efforts in solving it to the very end. I am always determined when I need to solve something or attain a goal. If I do not succeed, at least I can say that I did all I could. For example, our attempted escape – I worked very hard on it. I dug the tunnel for three months and we worked hard, stubbornly and with determination. We started out with screws, but we did not despair.

This is a Hamas leader who is known as being very dominant in the organisation and even though he is very religious and therefore believes that everything that takes place happens through “the Hand of God”, as can be seen from his words, he still expresses determination and personal activism towards attaining his goals.

### 2.3) Impulsiveness

Only a few interviewees, four out of the eighteen, conveyed that they were very impulsive by nature compared to others who said they were not impulsive at all, and that they had to examine and think about all their answers and actions. For example, interviewee number 6 said, “I am an impulsive person who operates in different directions. One can say that I am hyperactive ... I am impulsive but not a fool: it is calculated spontaneity.” On the other hand, interviewee number 3 said, “I am not an impulsive person at all. I plan everything and I plan every serious step meticulously. I have never failed in anything that I planned well.”

Some interviewees who described extreme activity levels found it hard to be in one place for too long. They needed to participate in several different activities simultaneously. For example, Interviewee number 7 said,

When I left school I worked in many jobs; I worked as a painter, in construction, in greenhouses, but I could not stay in one job for too long. I did not have enough patience to stay in the same job, I moved from one job to another. Once I even sold ice cream.

This interviewee is a Fatah leader, who according to his background check holds criminal records of petty crimes, such as stealing cars, which he denied. He finds it

very hard to adjust to imprisonment. This data can probably fit with his statement of having difficulties in holding a steady job and being in one place for long, even though he is very dominant as a leader in the Fatah and can be a good example for a leader who is less conformist.

#### 2.4) Use of drugs and alcohol

Some interviewees claimed that they had never seen drugs or alcohol. “No, never. I have never even seen it. It is forbidden. Since the first grade we are told that people who drink alcohol go to hell” (Interviewee number 16). The vast majority of interviewees stated that they had never used drugs or alcohol, and that even though they had access to drugs and alcohol they had never been tempted. In the words of interviewee number 11:

I worked in Tel Aviv for a while and it was accessible, but I never tried drugs and went nowhere near alcohol. I held the bottle and smelled the stuff, but I threw it out – I could not even have a taste.

These two leaders are Hamas members, which is a religious organisation that according to its basic rules prohibits the use of alcohol and drugs.<sup>475</sup> However, most of other interviewees, who are affiliates with the Fatah,<sup>476</sup> which is secular organisation, also argue for the denial of using these substances as inspired from traditional Islam, which they all affiliate with, whether they practice it or not. This point can reveal the

---

<sup>475</sup> For more information on Hamas organisation and its characteristics see chapter 1- introduction to this thesis p.21-29.

<sup>476</sup> For more information on Fatah organisation and its characteristics see chapter 1- introduction to this thesis p.17-20.

importance of Islam as a dominant tradition to both religious as well as secular terrorists of Muslim origin.<sup>477</sup>

A minority of the interviewees said they had used drugs and alcohol, but clarified that it had been in small doses for short periods and without endangering anyone. It was also apparent that the reasons behind their use were very different. Interviewee number 15, a Fatah leader, claimed he did it for fun:

We used to smoke hashish and drink alcohol. It was forbidden in the family but we did it anyway (*You are the first leader I've spoken to that told me they used hashish. The rest were shocked by the very mention of drug use. Could it be that this is because you are an Israeli Arab and most of them are Palestinian Arabs?*). I know them, they are lying. I know that I am harming myself by telling you this, but it is the truth. I smoked for a short while, but a small amount and not for long, and I did not harm anyone. I did not steal anything or commit burglary because I was not short of money. I have good friends who were also like this. I told you that I worked when I had to and had fun whenever I could.

On the other hand, Interviewee number 17, also a Fatah leader, used drugs and alcohol as an escape from difficult life circumstances:

I tried marijuana maybe three or four times, but not all the time. (*Why did you do it?*) Because I wanted to laugh, I saw my friends laughing and I also wanted to laugh. (*Did it help?*) Yes. But I knew it was not good and I also thought about my mother who used to speak to me all the time and tell me it was not good. (*What about alcohol? Did you drink alcohol?*) No, I do not want to drink alcohol, also in this case, only because I think of my mother.

Apart from these two interviewees who testify to using both drugs and alcohol few times in their lives, and interviewee number 1, who admits drinking alcohol occasionally, the rest declare no relation to these substances. Nevertheless these three are all members of Fatah and thus represent a minority of the twelve Fatah members

---

<sup>477</sup> For more on Islam in secular Fatah, see Hatina, M. (2001) *Islam and salvation in Palestine: the Islamic Jihad movement*. The Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern and African studies, Tel Aviv University; Yapp, M. E. (2004, p.171-172) Islam and Islamism. *Middle Eastern Studies*. 40 (2), 161–182.



who participated in this research. None of the six religious organisations' affiliates, interviewed in this study, related to this statement, and this may demonstrate the tendency of religious organisations to be more morally motivated and to having a stricter policy regarding any discrepancy.<sup>478</sup>

## 2.5) Irresponsibly use of firearms

The findings divided into those who claim to have had no physical contact with or use of firearms, to those who used weapons regularly. Yet apart from only within this latter group, they all argued for a very responsible use of firearms. Few of the interviewees stated that they had never used firearms: "I have never touched a weapon and I still do not know how to use one..." (Interviewee number 15, a Fatah leader)

Interviewee number 16, a Hamas leader, from the youth section, was the only one to admit to irresponsible use of a firearm, which might be linked to him being a minor. As such, he is more likely to behave irresponsibly, as can be clearly seen from his stories:

Once I was cleaning my gun and put the cartridge aside. But there was a bullet in the gun and it fired by mistake. The bullet hit the ceiling. My head was very close to the barrel. I got a fright and threw the weapon down. The family ran into my room, alarmed. They thought I wanted to commit suicide, but I could not explain because I was in shock. I also made a Molotov cocktail once. Someone was smoking next to me and set my pants alight. I quickly lie down in the sand and put out the fire. Another time I burnt my hand (He *shows the researcher the burns on his hand*). Once, for laughs, I told a friend that I would shoot his bag. It annoyed me that he did not believe me. I took out my pistol and shot up his bag. He was frightened, and after that he did not want to walk home from school with me.

---

<sup>478</sup> Ibid.

However, the large majority of interviewees claimed that they practiced responsible use of firearms and that nobody was ever mistakenly injured by them. In the words of interviewee number 12, the leading spokesman of those security prisoners who do not affiliate with any one organisation:

I would try not to take firearms home, but if I *did* bring any home I would lock it in a cupboard and keep the key. I did not give the key to anyone so that my younger brothers would not get hold of it.

This was supported by interviewee number 9, an Islamic Jihad leader, as well:

With regard to firearms, I would do all the necessary checks, even several times, before taking out my weapon or bringing it home. I had a firearm at home, too, because I was a wanted person and I needed a firearm ....everything I did, and my life itself, is for the benefit of my social environment. I gave my life to them, so I would not do anything to harm them. I am very careful.

## 2.6) Preference of the favour of others

Some interviewees, seven out of eighteen, stated that they always considered the public good before they thought of themselves, that all their deeds were always intentional and in accordance with the situation of their social environment.

Interviewee number 9 illustrated this well when he said,

On a personal level, I never thought about myself without thinking of everyone. I never thought that I should lead a normal life; because of the situation (meaning the occupation and his involvement in it) ... I do not want you to think that I feel sorry for myself for being in prison and serving my years. I am referring to the People and their interests. There was a time when we should have stopped to think about our failure and where victory lay. (*What about you?*) I do not think about myself. It was a given that I would either die or end up in prison. I am not surprised. (*Have you negated yourself completely?*) Sometimes I think that. Nevertheless I am still a human being with feelings and emotions. But when the general issue arises, personal matters are marginalised

This statement expresses the dedication and total self-sacrifice of an Islamic Jihad leader; it also reveals one of the main aspects characterising this radical organisation and its devoted members.<sup>479</sup>

## 2.7) Adventurousness

Many studies related to the psychology of terrorism argue that terrorism is part of looking for excitement and adventure by bored and violent individuals.<sup>480</sup> However only a few of the interviewees in this study demonstrated the need for adventure and excitement, which is probably linked with Crenshaw's<sup>481</sup> acknowledgment that terrorist organisations are doing their best to avoid recruiting this kind of individuals who they see them as a potential risk to the organisation. As interviewee number 10, a Hamas leader, conveys:

Going out to work and coming home every day for so many years – how can you live like this? One should also go on trips, not just work. We have a problem in society, where people do not attain progress. I cannot imagine getting married, going to work and then coming home; one needs adventure. Unfortunately all my adventurous activities were related to resistance to the occupation. It ‘cooked’ (in terms of established) the opinions in my head and allow me to develop in the organisation.

This leader is very dominant in the organisation and holds a record of attempting escape from prison in which he was eventually caught, that might link to his need for adventures.

---

<sup>479</sup> For more information on the Islamic Jihad organisation and its characteristics see chapter 1- introduction to this thesis p.39-42.

<sup>480</sup> Cottee, S. & Hayward, K. (2011, p.268-272) Terrorist (E)motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 34 (12), 963–986; Kaplan, A. (1978, p.250) The Psychodynamics of Terrorism. *Terrorism*. 1 (3-4), 237–254.

<sup>481</sup> Crenshaw, M. (1981, p.391) The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics*. 13 (4), 379–399.

An examination of these characteristics shows that with regard to responsibility in general most interviewees self-report being very responsible towards themselves, their families and in relation to everything that happens in the prison section to which they belong. The interviewees were asked about their ability to endanger their environment, and to behave irresponsibly through the irresponsible use of drugs or weapons. The majority self-reported that they had never used drugs or alcohol and thus had never endangered their social environment. Some even claimed that they had never even seen drugs or alcohol and that they had never had any connection to them. A small number of interviewees admitted to trying drugs on one or several occasions, mainly for fun or as a form of escape. These cases also did not involve addiction or repeated use, and all of this particular sample were Fatah members, which might have some relation to its characteristics as a secular organisation as was mentioned before.<sup>482</sup>

With regard to responsibility in the use of firearms, one interviewee admitted to the irresponsible use of firearms that endangered his social environment. This interviewee is a minor and this fact might be relevant to his irresponsible behaviour. On the other hand, most interviewees indicated a high level of responsibility with regards to the use of firearms that included taking all the necessary precautions to avoid endangering others in their area. It should be noted that some interviewees reported never having used firearms, and in fact not even knowing how to use them.

---

<sup>482</sup> For more information on the Fatah see chapter 1- introduction to this thesis p.17-20.

Concerning the need for stimulation with regard to impulsiveness or adventurousness, only a few of the interviewees regarded themselves as having a tendency towards high activity levels by nature. Indicators of this tendency include such factors as having difficulty in holding down a permanent job, and being engaged in many things simultaneously. Some interviewees claimed to be impulsive by nature, while others said they were not at all impulsive and that they needed to examine every aspect well before taking any action.

The findings in the present study indicate that the interviewees were characterized as having high levels of personal responsibility towards both themselves and their social environment, and they do not indulge in behaviour that may endanger others. Furthermore, some interviewees displayed self-deprecation in favour of the general good and the good of others. This characteristic testifies to a high level of responsibility towards their close social environment and their families. Furthermore, some interviewees noted that since they were nominated by others to engage in leadership tasks which require them to be serious and responsible, they invest maximum personal effort and the best of their abilities to ensure a successful outcome.

### **3) Behavioural inhibitions**

People normally suppress their urges to act in a way that might be unacceptable in order to fit in with society or to avoid social sanctions. Such behaviours can be emotional, passive or active, but most societies have restrictions against this

unacceptable behaviour, and the consequences can be negative ones.<sup>483</sup> The following analysis of the data examines the interviewees' behavioural inhibitions regarding their abilities to cope with anger or failure, how they adapted to different circumstances, and how their social surroundings perceived them in that sense.

### 3.1) Coping with anger

Only a few of the interviewees self-reported that they are not easily angered and that they are restrained and able to control their reactions when angry. For example, according to interviewee number 13:

*(Do you get angry easily?)* No, not at all; however, lies make me angry or if somebody raises their voice or says something bad. *(What do you do when you get angry?)* When I get angry at someone I do not speak to him at that moment. I first allow myself to calm down and then I go to him and end it ... and if I cannot do much about it, I write or calm myself down, I do not like to shout, I do not curse. *(Have you ever lost control?)* No, especially not here in prison and I am not one of those people who break things when they get angry.

In contrast, many of the interviewees reported that they tend to get angry and lose control when faced with difficult situations, as interviewee number 18, a Fatah leader explains:

*(Do you get angry easily?)* Yes, yes, (smiles). Everybody knows that I anger easily. *(Give me an example of something that makes you angry?)*. Many things, like when someone does not know his work and does not do it properly, shouting irritates me. It angers me if someone destroys something that I make, or if someone does not understand when I explain something. I get angry when someone humiliates others. *(What do you do when you get angry?)* I do not know. I get angry, I shout. My body language shows that I am angry. Afterwards I calm down and start thinking. *(In other words, when you are angry you don't think?)* Yes, that is right.

---

<sup>483</sup> Polivy, J. (1998, p.181) The Effects of Behavioural Inhibition: Integrating Internal Cues, Cognition, Behaviour, and Affect. *Psychological Inquiry*. 9 (3), 181–204.

Still, others reported that sometimes they tend to become angry but then they mostly control their reactions and cope with the situation. For example, interviewee number 5 says,

I do not anger easily, but there are some things that anger me, like when an inmate harms a warden or a cellmate for no reason. When this happens I get angry and shout at him, reprimand him, but with no hands. There is also a penal code that we follow. It also makes me angry when decisions are made that are not according to our rules. This makes me really angry because it is important that everything is done properly, according to procedure.

In various studies anger is found to be a strong and substantial motive for individuals or group to commit horrendous acts of violence as well as a motivating factor to join violent groups. Angry people who found it hard to cope with their anger tend to be very violent and radical in their actions as well as their reactions.<sup>484</sup> Maile and his colleagues stressed in their report on 'Aggression and terrorism' that –'Aggression, whether expressed by the leaders or the members of a terrorist group, is a central component of terrorism.'<sup>485</sup> However, few of the interviewees in this study were found to be angry people who anger easily, and further cannot control their reactions to stressful events. The majority of the interviewees argued that they tend to relax and think things through before reacting in these kinds of situations. Some of them even mentioned the influence of prison as a catalyst for forcing them to behave in a certain way where they are face greater constraints and need to choose carefully their methods of conduct. The next aspect which this chapter consider might be linked to this aspect of behavioural restoration and will add to its understanding.

---

<sup>484</sup> Abdullah, S. (2002, p.132-135) 'The Soul of a Terrorist: Reflections on Our War with the 'Other'', in Chris E. Stout (ed.) *The Psychology of Terrorism: A Public Understanding*. Greenwood Publishing Group. pp. 129–142.

<sup>485</sup> Maile, J. et al. (2010, p. 1) *Aggression in Terrorism- An Interdisciplinary Analyses of Terrorism*. Available from: [http://eprints.ucm.es/9995/2/353\\_CSP-Chapter\\_02.pdf](http://eprints.ucm.es/9995/2/353_CSP-Chapter_02.pdf) (Accessed 20 July 2012).

### 3.2) Coping with failure and adaptability

The majority of the interviewees self-reported that they are able to cope well and effectively with their mistakes, that they learn lessons and that they rectify things accordingly. For example, interviewee number 2, a senior Hamas leader stated:

Many things happen in life and here there is nobody who does not look back, otherwise you cannot go forwards. Both with regards to family and society there are things I regret not handling properly. For example, when I allowed my sister to marry a man whom I thought was no good for her ... every question has an answer and things that I can change should be changed accordingly. I learn lessons and see what the right way is. It is like steering a boat, if it goes off course you need to change direction.

Self-reporting by a minority of interviewees indicated that they are not always capable of coping with problems in the proper manner and sometimes they do not know how to rectify their mistakes. In the words of a Fatah leader, interviewee number 7:

*(How did you feel after the murder of the children?)* The word difficult says it all. It was difficult for me. I looked at my own children and thought that if someone else had done this to them it would be unacceptable. *(Did it make you do something?)* What could I do? If I made a bad decision, I would not repeat it. Next time I will do what is right and acceptable. I am smart. If I behave badly towards another inmate, I sit and think about it and do not do it again. *(Are you capable of apologizing?)* Of course I apologize. I apologized for the killings of the children, but I do not apologize for the soldier in Tulkarem (a Palestinian city in the west area of Samaria). *(Are you aware of the implications of your deeds?)* I do not think about everything. I thought about some deeds and did not think about others; it depends on the circumstances. I thought about everything, but sometimes people make mistakes and think that they made mistakes, that they did something that was not appropriate. I have nothing to confess, we do not confess, what is there to confess?

This interviewee is very dominant in the organisation; however, according to his records and statements, he has severe difficulties in coping with life in prison and its



consequences and finds it hard to adapt to difficult and problematic situations, as he further explained:

I never thought I would end up in prison. I preferred to die. To this day I cannot believe that I am in prison. I look around the prison in which you die every minute and every hour, while outside you die only once. It is extremely difficult.

Nevertheless most interviewees presented strong abilities of coping with difficult issues whether caused by them or in general; and further they can well adapt to any circumstances, as can be seen clearly by the words of interviewee number 12:

I am realistic; I do not like to break into pieces. According to my personality, I want to reach the sky, but the reality is different and I put things into perspective. This is what holds me together in prison. (*Do you not have feelings?*) (*Laughs*)... Why do you think that I do not have feelings? Am I a robot? What feelings are you talking about? (*Frustration, anger, envy, perhaps, sadness ...*). It is not a lack of emotions, it is coping. I have already been here for 26 years. I need to be aware of my social environment, to be realistic, to know what I want.

The concept of adaptability was presented in studies<sup>486</sup> as one of the main causes for joining terrorist groups, as Post detailed, “The decision to join often follows failed efforts at adaptation socially, educationally, and at work.”<sup>487</sup> However, most of the interviewees in this study were found to have adapted well to their life in prison and the difficult circumstances involved.

### 3.3) Social environmental perceptions

Many of the interviewees stated that their social environment does not perceive them as being angry and unable to control their reactions in stressful situations, while others

<sup>486</sup> Schweitzer, Y. & S. Goldstein Faber (2005, p.31) *Al-Qaeda and the Internationalization of Suicide Terrorism*. Memorandum No. 78, Tel Aviv: Jaffa Centre for Strategic Studies.

<sup>487</sup> Post, J. M. (1984, p.254) Notes on a psychodynamic theory of terrorist behaviour. *Terrorism*. 7 (2), 241–256.

stated the contrary, as can be seen in the words of interviewee number 16, a Hamas leader: "Others think I am bad-tempered because they see me laugh but if someone makes me angry I cannot see straight." On the other hand interviewee number 6 stated:

Those who know me well, and very few do, know that there are things that irritate me, but in general they call me 'British', By that they mean that I am very calm .... Nobody says I am bad; I was never violent, except in an incident with my sisters, but I have solved that. I have never had quarrels or arguments in public, and even here in prison I never raise a hand on anyone. One has to detach from his humanity to be able to commit murder, and that is what I did.

In an examination of the interviewees' ability to cope with anger, many of the interviewees stated that they are angry by nature, that they find it hard to cope with anger and that they lose control in these situations. Only a few stated that they were not easily angered, were restrained and were able to control their responses. The rest of the interviewees claimed that generally they were not easily angered and were able to control their reactions, but that sometimes, in extreme cases, they were not able to control their reactions and lost control. With regard to how they are perceived by their social environment, few of the interviewees stated that they are perceived by their social surrounding as bad-tempered, while others claimed the opposite.

Furthermore, only a few interviewees were found to be unable to cope with mistakes and unable to learn the right lessons when necessary, as well as to adapt both to being in prison and to difficult situations in general. Most of the interviewees claimed high adaptive and coping abilities, apart from one interviewee who mentioned great difficulty in adapting to imprisonment and to his current situation. It may be that these findings derive from the fact that the interviewees are leaders who, by their very nature, are more decisive and have to keep their temper. In other words, they have to

be calm in order not to make the wrong decisions, as was detailed previously in relation to the aspect of responsibility. Furthermore, it seems that as for behavioural inhibitions there is no significant difference in behaviour depending on belonging to one organisation or another and the interviewees are fairly divided accordingly.

#### **4) The ability for remorse:**

In his comparison between terrorists and people with antisocial personality disorder, Martens explores another aspect of comparison, which is the lack of remorse and guilt both expressed in relation to their violent acts. Other studies that also examined the connection between terrorism and personality disorders argue that the personalities of terrorists are characterized by the lack of the ability to experience remorse.<sup>488</sup>

##### **4.1) Remorse in general**

Most interviewees described that they feel remorse for certain events and deeds in their past, and if it were possible they would have behaved otherwise. It is evident that only a small number of interviewees regret the deeds they committed that harmed others. For example, interviewee number 14, a Fatah leader stated:

I did things that I regret. I beat my wife twice in my life and I am very sorry about that. I thought about it while sitting in prison and I wanted to talk to her about it, but now I think it is too late. I have many family pictures, and every night I look at them and ask them - when will I go home? I am also sorry that I left my mother because she is the person closest to me.

---

<sup>488</sup> Martens (2004, p.49); Taylor (1988, p.85); Post, Sprinzak and Danny (2003, p.181).

This is opposed to most of the interviewees who regretted those deeds caused self-harm, as stated by a Hamas leader, interviewee number 11:

It hurts me that I stopped studying; I eat myself up about it. Life is going in another direction. For example when I am released, I do not know anything about computers or Internet. (*Is there anything else besides studies that you are sorry about?*) I did not have any definite political ideas, I did not have a political position to guide me about what is good and what is bad, about how to do things in the best way, or not to do anything at all.

A minority of the interviewees argued that there is nothing they regret. For example, according to interviewee number 13, a Fatah leader “(*Were there things you regretted along the way?*) No. (*Nothing?*) No.” Or as stated in more detail by interviewee number 16, a Hamas leader:

(*Were there things you regretted in life?*) No, never. I am not sorry about anything I ever did. Even in court I did not show remorse for what I did, because then I would lose faith. But here in prison, if I make a mistake with another inmate, I will apologize to him in front of 140 inmates.

#### 4.2) Remorse for acts of terror-

In the present study it was found that in the context of terror acts, most of the interviewees do not feel any remorse for their deeds; instead, they believe in the justice of their cause and in perpetrating these acts of terror. Only a minority of the interviewees expressed remorse for their deeds and claimed that today in similar circumstances they would do it differently. Hence, the often repeated narrative was that most of the interviewees expressed no remorse for acts of terror they had committed, and refused to express any remorse about them, as clearly indicated by interviewee number 5, a Hamas leader:

I am not sorry for anything I did. I believe it contributed to our victory today and to throwing off the occupation. I did it out of belief, not out

of mental illness. I knew in advance that I might be arrested, or die, but I took it into account.

As well as interviewee number 6, a Fatah leader who argued

If I am ever in a situation of feeling remorse, I will die. The murder was not carried out for nothing. There was a reason for it, and if I say I am sorry, it will hurt the victim's family. If I could turn the clock back I would do the same thing again under the same conditions.

A small minority of the interviewees expressed remorse for their deeds and claimed that today they would do otherwise. Interviewee number 1, a Fatah leader, expressed it as follows:

Today I would do it completely differently. I would not enter into an armed struggle. I would write to the press, join organisations, or leave it all alone, depending on the situation. I am not the only one among my people who needs to pay. It also depends on age, I have done my bit. The weapons and the method should be changed.

With regard to remorse in general, most of the interviewees expressed remorse for things they did in their past that were unconnected to terrorism. Only a few of the interviewees said they had no remorse about anything they had done in the past, thereby indicating that their personalities are characterized by the lack of ability to feel remorse. Most interviewees were in fact found to have the ability to learn from their mistakes and to cope with them effectively. Accordingly, the findings of this study thus show that these terrorists have the ability for remorse regarding a variety of past deeds, and are even able to learn from their mistakes and to cope with them in a proper and effective manner. Furthermore, no substantial findings have been found as to the relevance of type of organisation the few interviewees who did regret their terrorists acts are from. This finding is deduced from the fact that three out of the four who showed remorse for their terrorist acts are Fatah members and one is a member

of Hamas; considering the ratio is of eleven Fatah participants versus five Hamas interviewees, it seems quite balanced between the organisations.

## **5) Self-evaluation**

Further to the study conducted by Martens,<sup>489</sup> which also found a similar self-esteem deficiency in terrorists and people with anti-social personality disorder, Show<sup>490</sup> also argues that terrorists come from at-risk populations, and therefore suffer from prior damage to their self-esteem. Furthermore, Kaplan adds that terrorism is actually a reaction to low self-esteem by terrorists, who fight for a cause and expect to gain self-respect out of it.<sup>491</sup> Self-esteem will be measured in this study by the interviewees' own perceptions of themselves, as well as relevant information in their files and the researcher's observation.

Many of the interviewees in this study were found to have high self-esteem, perceived themselves as having a positive personality and believed in themselves and in their capabilities. For example, according to interviewee number 3, a Fatah leader:

I can and I do believe in who I am, am convinced by what I have, and am always doing things to improve myself. I constantly learn, read, listen to the radio, am interested in politics, build myself and prepare myself in all aspects. I feel like a leader who needs to be followed ... I believe I will succeed. I believe in myself and in my ability, and I have proof for it.

Or as can be clearly seen, in the words of interviewee number 6, a Fatah leader:

I am gentle, sensitive and considerate; others regarded me as a good friend and good to be with, and they thought that I created a good atmosphere ....even though I surprised myself by doing what I did; I

---

<sup>489</sup> Martens (2004, p.48).

<sup>490</sup> Show (1986, p.365).

<sup>491</sup> Kaplan (1978, p.245); see also: Hudson (1999, p.25).

did not even have nightmares about it later. I am romantic, sensitive, so why do I not have any nightmares? I love myself, am satisfied with myself and live in harmony with myself. I feel good about what and who I am and I am happy about it. When I compare myself to others, I am pleased ... I am a very loving, calm, level-headed and smart person – I regard myself as an intelligent person (do not accuse me of boasting, it is because you asked me), I accept people for what they are, even if I do not like the way they are. I love them too if they are not stupid or liars. I am very open, even though in prison I am closed. I do not know why. It is hard for me to open up to people here and it is very different to be how I was on the outside. There I was open to people and here I had to change things in order to be successful and to cope.

Half of the interviewees evaluated themselves as average with modest perceptions of their capabilities in general. Moreover, they are also well aware of their successes and good qualities and traits. For example, according to interviewee number 5, a Hamas leader who claims “I am obstinate. I can say about myself that when I invest effort in anything, I invest a lot of effort and always find a solution. I do the best I can, but sometimes I do not succeed. That is life.” While few of the interviewees referred to personal traits (as was seen from the previous example of interviewee number 5), others referred to their social environment, as described by interviewee number 4, a Fatah leader: “I’m a normal guy; I love the quiet life and love it when everyone around me lives a quiet life. I love looking out for my family and knowing that everyone is okay.”

Only one interviewee was found to have low-self-esteem and in fact regarded himself as a total failure. He attributes his feeling to both himself and to his social environment, as follows:

I am good at reading; I love being righteous and not lying. To me that is the most important thing ....it is hard for me to speak about myself. What can I tell you? (*Tell me what you think of yourself?*) I feel there is something bad in me. I feel like a failure, that up to now I have not done anything significant and have not succeeded to become what I want to be. I am a failure from a family point of view because I did not give

them what I needed to give them. I have not made any progress socially. (*But you took this into account, didn't you?*) Yes, but I still did not want this to happen. Take Peres (meaning Shimon Peres an Israeli politician who is currently the president of Israel) for example. He did a thousand times more for his people than I did for mine. I did not become the person I want to be. If I described myself, the result would be a failure (interviewee number 9).

This interviewee is a member of Islamic Jihad, which as was detailed before<sup>492</sup> is a very strict and radical organisation. He was sentenced life and is considered to be quite dominant in prison, yet his statement reveals a contrasting self-depiction within his personality.

Fluency, cooperation and charm - the researcher input:

These aspects of fluent speaking, cooperating with the researcher's question and revealing inclusive information were interpreted by the researcher at the end of every interview, and the analysis of this data disclosed that most of the interviewees were found to be fluent and cooperative; talked freely of themselves and revealed comprehensive information regarding their personal and social lives. They also demonstrated a significant ability to conduct a lively, intelligent and deep conversation while projecting charm and charismatic behaviour. Consequently, most of the interviewees were characterized as having average to high self-esteem and they believed in themselves and their capabilities. It can also be seen that the majority of the interviewees who self-reported a high self-esteem attributed it to personality traits associated with their personal characters, compared to most of

---

<sup>492</sup> See chapter 1- introduction to this thesis p.24-27.



interviewees with average self-esteem who attributed it to personality traits associated with their social environment.

## **6) Other social aspects of personality**

Post discussed the importance and strength of belonging to a group; that is, when an individual joins a group in order to belong, to be significant. Group dynamic holds a major influence on a person's behaviour and conduct, and group membership entails massive pressure to conform to it. Post specified that in the case of nationalist groups there is pressure to sustain communication and connections with others from outside the group.<sup>493</sup> Show adds that ideology is not the main cause for enlisting in a terror organisation and that it is just a tool used to hide the need for a sense of belonging. These assumptions typically describe the characters of organisation members who cooperate easily with ideological messages and who are easily given to manipulative influences.<sup>494</sup>

Miller argues as well that terrorists are mostly found to be very sociable, with good communicative skills, as well as devoted to the cause and the group.<sup>495</sup> However, Jenkins claims that most terrorists are troubled and depressed individuals who feel uncomfortable within society.<sup>496</sup> Moreover, Post adds that the paranoid aspect of a terrorist's personality, who is drawn to terrorism, stems from a sensitive and paranoid

---

<sup>493</sup> Post, J. M. (1990, p.31-36) 'Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist Behaviour as a Product of Psychological forces', in Walter Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>494</sup> Show (1986, p.366).

<sup>495</sup> Miller (2006, p.257-258).

<sup>496</sup> Jenkins, B. M. (1982, p.14) *Terrorism and Beyond : An International Conference on Terrorism and Low-Level Conflict*. Available from: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R2714.html> (Accessed 18 June 2012).

personality; thus he is describing a person who is suspicious of everyone and their intentions and who uses terrorism to justify his or her aggressive reactions.<sup>497</sup> Furthermore, a study conducted by Billing<sup>498</sup> found that terrorists oppose hierarchy and reject authority and are therefore unable to identify with a father figure who they regard as too controlling. They therefore turn to terrorism as a means of self-compensation. Other studies characterize terrorists in terms of a constant search for excitement. In these studies it was found that terror may be associated with adventurousness and the search for exciting experiences, as the planning and implementation of acts of terror are perceived as exciting activities that meet the need for stimulation, including high-level risk.<sup>499</sup>

As was detailed in the chapter three of this thesis<sup>500</sup> and constantly by the interviewees' statements throughout the study, the social concept is one of the most important aspects to them; hence they are very devoted to the group and to the cause as well as to their society in general. As was detailed previously as well, and probably as a consequence of their role as leaders, interviewees appear as communicative, fluent and cooperative. This will be elaborated by other social patterns of personality that were revealed during the interviews and were found to have social characteristics. Such characteristics include preferring the favour of others, the ability to be influenced by others, communications skills and the lack of reclusiveness, pessimism,

---

<sup>497</sup> Post (1984, p.245).

<sup>498</sup> Billing, O. (1985, p.45) The lawyer terrorist and his comrades. *Political Psychology*. 6 (1), 29–46.

<sup>499</sup> Hacker, F. J. (1983, p.25-26) 'Dialectic Interrelationships of Personal and Political Factors in Terrorism', in Lawrence Zelic Freedman & Yonah Alexander (eds.) *Perspectives on Terrorism*. Scholarly Resources. pp. 19–31; Crenshaw, M. (1987, p.19) Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organisational Approaches. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 10 (4), 13–31; Post (1990, p.27); Cottee, S. & Hayward, K. (2011, p.966-972) Terrorist (E)motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 34 (12), 963–986.

<sup>500</sup> Chapter no. 3 of this thesis, p.147-150.

rebelliousness as well as being suspicious towards others in general. These characteristics will be detailed further:

#### 6.1) Tendency to be influenced by others

The interviewees related to this trait of tendency to be influence by others and answered the following question: - *Were there any influential factors in your life that led you to choose a certain path, or were you free of influence from any near or distant external factors?*

Almost half of the interviewees stated that there were no influential factors in their lives, that they were independent and free of any kind of influential factor, as interviewee number 9 explains:

I was not influenced by anyone in particular. I am the oldest in the family and the first to join the Islamic Jihad organisation. Nobody in my social environment influenced me to choose this path, only books and newspapers. That is what gave me direction. I am an independent thinker and life made me think; not a specific person, but life in general was my influence.

Or, as self-reported by interviewee number 15, a Fatah leader:

It was natural for me to rely only on myself my entire life. It is a good and a bad thing, because I rely on myself and have a lot of self-confidence, and that is good. But it also gets you into trouble. If there had been someone like that (an influential agent), then perhaps I would have done things differently.

The rest of the interviewees stated that they had influential factor in their life, while a small minority of them reported being influenced by an external influence; a historical or political figure. According to interviewee number 2, a Hamas leader:

In our history there is a man called Omar Ibn El-Khattab who was able to say the truth and express his opinion to the Prophet, to stand by what he thought, was always right, reliable; it did not matter who he was talking to, even to the Prophet, the main thing was the truth.

Or as interviewee number 8, a Fatah leader, explains: “Yasser Arafat was my role model. He had nothing and from that he created the Palestinian nation. He is my role model.”

The others said they were influenced by people who were closer to them, like family members, teachers and friends. In the words of interviewee number 10, a Hamas leader:

At first there was my father, who encouraged me not to be a coward. These are the values I got from my family. I was also in a religious school and there is no doubt that I was hugely influenced by teachers and friends. Religious schools were not like state-run schools, because the teacher-pupil relationship was good and it was important for teachers to convey the right message. Even those responsible for us in the movement directed us to act. Important people who continued down the path are also influential.

In view of that, the interviewees were divided into two categories; those who self-reported that they have never been influenced by anything, and those who stated that during their lives they had been influenced by various factors, such as family, their social environment or a historical or political figure.

## 6.2) Communication skills

As for their perceptions of their ability to communicate with others, most interviewees stated of good interpersonal relations at all times, while others expressed difficulties

in communicating with others, especially after entering prison. For example, interviewee number 2, a Hamas leader said,

I have good relations with people, no matter which organisation they belong to. I have good chemistry with people and the ability to talk to them about almost anything, regardless of age or anything else.

While interviewee number 11 provides another picture altogether,

It is hard to maintain relations with friends in this situation. There are some who are interested, but mostly one tends to forget they even have friends. Some ask me to write to them, and I write to those I am not angry with. (*Are your friends also from Hamas?*) In the camp I had friends from all the organisations.

With regard to their abilities of communication with others, a minority claimed they had problems with this issue, and this was only in relation to friends outside prison and due to prison conditions that limited communication with them. The rest of the interviewees did not relate at all to difficulty in communication with others, while some of the interviewees even boasted about their excellent communication skills and claimed they were able to communicate with anyone and everyone.

### 6.3) Suspicion

Only one interviewee demonstrated great suspicion about the motive behind and goals of the study at hand. This is demonstrated by her questions:

What do you get out of this interview? (*It is research for my thesis*). Did you choose the topic yourself? (*Yes, I am very interested in the field.*) What did they say about you outside when they heard what you are doing? You are not scared to come here? (*I cannot say very much about my research outside because it is confidential, but I was not scared to come here. I think you are smart enough and it is not in your interest to harm me here.*) What have I got to lose? I am serving a life sentence anyway. So in fact it would be in my interest. (*Let's just say that I believe in people*)(*The interviewee smiles*) (*I also think that things work differently in prison, you do things differently, you said so*

*yourself.) What do you think when you speak to us? (I do not think about what you did, I put that aside and relate to you and your personality. That is what interests me at the moment, and there is a lot to see there, in your personality.) (The interviewee smiles) OK, I wish you luck.*

This interviewee is interviewee number 18, a female leader and a member of Fatah. The dynamic of the interview was a bit different than in the other interviews; it might be due to the fact that the researcher was also a female, or else because the interviewee is a suspicious person by nature.

#### 6.4) Reclusiveness

Only a few participants stated reclusiveness as one of their personality traits; namely, that they do not share their personal feelings and thoughts with others and that they act alone in many areas. For example, interviewee number 12 explains:

I have never told anyone anything personal. It is also a problem for intelligence services that there is no one close to me (laughs), but that is how it is. I am used to it. I am not prepared to reveal anything personal to anyone. If I have a problem, I think it through alone, or sleep on it and it passes. (*What about your family?*) I have never involved them either, so as not to worry my mother. This way she does not have to worry about me all the time.

This interviewee is a veteran prisoner and the one who had been in prison for the longest period of time in this research. He is also the only non-Palestinian participating in it - he is Lebanese by nationality. He entered prison as a minor and spent almost 30 years in Israeli prisons already. He is known as a dominant and charismatic leader; he is reserved but he also knows how to share with others when needed.

### 6.5) Rebelliousness

Only small number of interviewees self-reported being rebellious by nature as well as non-conformists. According to interviewee number 6:

I always did what I wanted, and it harmed me socially because I did not like anything. I rebelled against my social environment, and was angry about the crowded conditions my family lived in. I asked my mother why she had eight children. There was one room in our home and everyone slept in the same room. It made me very angry. I also did not like the closed off, traditional environment. I was always open to anything and everything. I loved the cinema and knew all the stars, like Marilyn Monroe and others. I bought magazines and grew further away from religion and even from the mosque..... People in the organisation objected to my behaviour in activities outside the organisation, but I did not care at all. I was not prepared to share my private life with anyone. I did not have to report to anyone, and I continued in my usual way. This did not cause a rift, and they saw me as someone they could rely on, despite my rebelliousness, which made them very angry.

This interviewee is a Fatah leader, relatively young and open minded, who presents a different, more liberal attitude in comparison with the other interviewees who were more conservatives. He was found to be very charismatic as a leader and was promoted to be the main spokesman in prison despite his unique attitude and probably due to his other leadership and personal qualities.

### 6.6) Pessimism

Feelings of pessimism and a bleak view of the world were demonstrated by only a small minority of the interviewees. As reflected in the words of interviewee number 7, a Fatah leader

We have no trips, or a beach. I want these things and it makes me angry, because you tell yourself, I am not a human being? The entire world looks black. (*Is that how you see the world?*) So far yes (*Don't you also see good things in the world?*) Sometimes, but not always,

usually I do not (*Give me an example of something good.*) When I was in the Palestinian police and there was security, people felt safe and they could walk around. It was better. Today life is bad, very difficult. Many people will resort to using firearms.

This interviewee is a Fatah member who is imprisoned life. He is known as a very dominant person in the organisation at his area but finds it hard to adjust to imprisonment.

#### 6.7) Artistic skills

An interesting finding that might not be directly linked to the personality characteristics of the interviewees but can express other aspects of their personality is whether they possess artistic skills. This may be indicative of creativity in general and in problem-solving in particular, as well as original thinking and social relations.<sup>501</sup> It was found that only one interviewee demonstrated remarkable artistic and creative abilities, interviewee number 11, a Hamas leader who is sentenced to more than three life terms. During the interview he sends someone to bring some of his art works to show the researcher. The inmate returns with a velvet cloth with a very professionally embroidered picture that revealed great talent. It was hard to believe that this was handmade. The inmate also brought an album with numerous photographs of other art works with texts that would require much thought and artistic ability to create. There were also pictures of his home in Gaza and various family pictures, as he explains:

I focus on love and emotions. It is important to me and I pour it on paper to show the people outside [the prison] and to those here who are interested in what I write ...I put the way I feel into my work (*Do you release your anger in your work?*) No. My feeling is good, so I create a lot of flowers. When I feel good I express it in the fabric. When I feel

---

<sup>501</sup> James, K. & Asmus, C. (2001) Personality, Cognitive Skills, and Creativity in Different Life Domains. *Creativity Research Journal*. 13 (2), 149–159.



bad, I do not work. It gives me a lot of time on my own. When I do not have patience, I put it aside.

It seems that according to these themes, in this study only a few of the interviewees were characterized as being adventure-seeking individuals who sought excitement. It could be that the act of terror they perpetrated may have been, among other things, the result of this characteristic. This does not apply at all to most of the interviewees. It is also applicable to the characteristic of pessimism; only some view the world as a dark, bleak place and harboured negative thoughts about the future. Furthermore, a minority of interviewees view themselves as being rebellious and as being unable to accept authority, as well as being reclusive with no desire to share their lives with others.

On the other hand most of the interviewees were extremely cooperative, beyond expectations; they were found to have good communication skills and expressed no suspicion about the researcher's questions or motives. One of the interviewee was even found to have remarkable artistic talent, unique among this group in prison.

As was mentioned before, the aspect of personality was also analyzed by another tool, the Hare's psychopathic check-list, which examined the possible existence of psychopathic personality. The information was gathered during the interviews and was analyzed along with other resources such as the interviewees' personal files, media resources and information from prison employees.

The items are scored by a three-point ordinal scale based on its match to the individual behaviour and personality: score 2- the item applies to the individual, score 1- the item applies to a certain extent, and score 0- the item does not apply at all. The

sum of all the items scores, which can be a minimum of 0 and maximum of 24, demonstrate the percentile ranks of the individual in relation to the different groups such as: non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population, or delinquent but non-psychiatric one. This can be interpreted by a table of total and factor scores to each group.<sup>502</sup> The table below will detail the result of the analysis according to Hare's check-list, followed by detailed explanation regarding these results.

**Table no. 2: Results of the psychopathic personality check list (Hare's Psychopathy Check list, 1991)**

Not related to any organisation	Hamas	Fatah	Islamic Jihad	Score according to PCL:SV
1	1	1	1	0
	3	1		1
		1		2
	1	4		3
		1		4
		1		5
		1		6
		1		13

<sup>502</sup> See appendix 7: table of percentile ranks for PCL-SV total and factor scores, p. 357.

Four interviewees who obtained a **score of 0** in the questionnaire, of whom two were leaders in the Hamas and the Islamic Jihad organisations, one was a Fatah spokesperson and one was the main spokesperson who was not affiliated with any organisation. Relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population this score of 0 places the respondents in the 17<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is the lowest possible level. Relative to the delinquent but non-psychiatric population, this score places them in the 0 percentile, which is considered the lowest.

Four interviewees who obtained a **score of 1** in the questionnaire, these include three Hamas leaders and one Fatah leader. Relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population this score of 1 places the respondents in the 34<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is below half and relatively low. Relative to the delinquent but non-psychiatric population, this score places them in the 0 percentile, which is considered the lowest.

One interviewee, a Fatah leader, obtained a **score of 2** in the questionnaire. Relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population this score places the respondent in the 53<sup>rd</sup> percentile, which is just over half. Relative to the delinquent but non-psychiatric population, this score places him in the 0 percentile, which is considered the lowest.

Five interviewees obtained a **score of 3** in the questionnaire. Three respondents were Fatah spokespeople, one a Fatah leader and one a Hamas spokesperson. Relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population this score places the respondent in the 62<sup>nd</sup> percentile, which is relatively high. Relative to the delinquent but non-

psychiatric population, this score places him in the 0.7<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is considered very low.

One interviewee, a Fatah leader, obtained a **score of 4** in the questionnaire. Relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population this score places the respondent in the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is relatively high. Relative to the delinquent but non-psychiatric population, this score places him in the 3.4<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is considered very low.

One interviewee, a Fatah spokesman, obtained a **score of 5** in the questionnaire. Relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population this score places the respondent in the 81<sup>st</sup> percentile, which is very high. Relative to the delinquent but non-psychiatric population, this score places him in the 4.7<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is considered very low.

One interviewee, a Fatah spokesman, obtained a **score of 6** in the questionnaire. Relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population, this score places the respondent in the 86<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is high. Relative to the delinquent but non-psychiatric population, this score places him in the 6.7<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is considered very low.

One interviewee a Fatah leader obtained a **score of 13** in the questionnaire. Relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population, this score places the respondent in the 98<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is the highest. Relative to the delinquent but non-

psychiatric population, this score places him in the 35.6<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is considered relatively low and doesn't pass the halfway mark.

In an analysis of the findings using Hare's check list,<sup>503</sup> eight of the leaders scored 0 or 1, which relative to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population puts them in the lowest percentile with regards to criminal personality. One leader obtained a score of 2 that places him slightly above the 50<sup>th</sup> percentile. Nine leaders obtained scores that placed them above the 62<sup>nd</sup> percentile with regard to criminal personality, and to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population, this is high. With regard to delinquent, but not psychiatric, personality none of the interviewees passed the 35<sup>th</sup> percentile bar, and this is considered very low.

From the above it may be concluded that with regard to the non-delinquent and non-psychiatric population, eight of the interviewees out of eighteen do not go above the 50% bar, and it cannot be said that they have delinquent personalities. Ten interviewees pass the 50% bar, and it can be said that their personalities show signs of various levels of delinquency. With regard to delinquent, but not psychiatric population, none of the interviewees passed the halfway mark, and it cannot be said that they have above-average signs of criminal personality.

Moreover, it is clear that most of the leaders who obtained scores that show signs of delinquency belong to Fatah, a secular organisation, while leaders in Hamas and Islamic Jihad, both religious organisations, did not pass the score that indicates

---

<sup>503</sup> Hare (1991).

delinquency. We can therefore conclude that religion can be a factor that influences the formation of criminal personality traits.

## Conclusions

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, personality reflects diverse aspects of the conduct and behaviour of an individual; and it differentiates him or her from others. Furthermore, personality also exposes the individual social abilities and interactions throughout different events in his or her life, as well as describing the personal motives, values and philosophy of life. Hence the personality characteristics of the group of terrorist leaders who were interviewed in this research is one of the most important pieces of evidence that might uncover the mind-set and way of thinking of some of the most unknown and misunderstood individuals within human society. Consideration of these qualities may allow a better understanding of the conduct and behaviour of these terrorist organisations.

In addition, the constant debate in literature regarding the links between criminality and terrorism and whether terrorists are criminals or an extreme type of activism has been going on for years without much substantial resolution. In one of the first typologies Hacker<sup>504</sup> differentiated criminal from terrorist by defining them as crusaders. However, since then and especially for legal reasons this question has been dealt with by varied authorities such as counterterrorism insurgencies, law enforcement and governmental officials.<sup>505</sup> Thus, it seems necessary to shed some

---

<sup>504</sup> Hacker, F. J. (1976) *Crusaders, Criminals, Crazyies: Terror and Terrorism in Our Time*. 1st edition. W W Norton & Co Inc.

<sup>505</sup> Demleitner, N. (2003) How Many Terrorists Are There? The Escalation in So-Called Terrorism Prosecutions. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*. 16 (1), 38–42; Franck, T. F. (2004), *Criminals*,

light on that continuing discussion by exploring the personality characteristics of this group of terrorist leaders; and further, to apply Hare's check list in order to disclose the link to criminal indications if possible.

The findings of this study indeed substantiate that it is difficult to establish a personality profile, not even a criminal personality, among terrorist-organisation leaders in prisons since they do not generally have criminal personality. However, some aspects of personality have been explored - this study found that the interviewees are very responsible for their actions and their surroundings and invest a great deal of themselves in order to promote their aspirations and their goals, and in order to provide the needs of the organisation members for whom they are responsible.

This study did not find them to have manipulative personality nor to be rebellious or suspicious; also, no traits were found among them of the search for stimulation or excitement seeking. Most of the interviewees are of medium to high self-esteem and they have good communication skills. This study partially supported the different previous studies that described the terrorists' lack of ability to show remorse, and the findings show that they do not regret their destructive, terrorist actions; but, significantly, it is not a characteristic in their personality, because they can express regret for other things in their lives. Furthermore, most of them are not isolationists and do not have poor behavioural control.

---

Combatants, or What? An Examination of the Role of Law in Responding to the Threat of Terror. *The American Journal of International Law*. 98 (4), 686–688; Post, J. M. (2005a, p.54) 'The Socio-Cultural Underpinnings of Terrorist Psychology- When Hatred is Bred in the bone', in Tore Bjørgo (ed.) *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*. Psychology Press.

An analysis of the findings based on Hare's check list<sup>506</sup> enforces the findings of the study concerning the criminal personality among terrorist-organisations leaders in prison, as they do not point out any clear characteristics of delinquent or psychopathic personality.

---

<sup>506</sup> Hare (1991).



## **Chapter 5: Results- Mind-set**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will detail the leaders' general points of view and their perceptions towards different topics related to the conflict and their involvement in it. Most of these aspects were raised by the interviewees themselves during the long discussions held with the researcher while the researcher further discussed these and other topics she found relevant to the conversation as well. A range of topics were covered such as their rationalisations for carrying out terrorist acts, their perceptions related to the attacks as well as the victims of these attacks in particular and Israeli society in general.

The information detailed in this chapter is based on the implementation of a variety of neutralisation and rationalisation techniques that have been identified in relation to criminals, as well as other techniques that are found to be specifically used by terrorists. The techniques that will be detailed in this chapter and that are typically used by criminals are Sykes and Matza's five neutralisation techniques of:

1. Denial of responsibility;
2. Denial of injury;
3. Denial of the victim;
4. Condemnation of the condemners; and,

5. The Appeal to higher loyalties.<sup>507</sup>

Five additional techniques which as well relate mostly to criminals and will also be detailed here are:

- 6. Metaphor of the ledger;
- 7. The defence of necessity;<sup>508</sup>
- 8. The denial of the necessity of the law;
- 9. The claim that everybody else is doing it; and,
- 10. The claim of entitlement.<sup>509</sup>

Other techniques analysed in relation to this group of interviewees were rationalisations techniques that were found to be used specifically by terrorists and the assertion that the terrorists acts vindicate:

- 1) A response to a case of disrespect or insult;
- 2) An act of revenge or retribution for injustice caused by others;
- 3) A need to defend oneself;
- 4) Devaluation of responsibility by arguing that bad things happen and collateral damage is what happens in any war.<sup>510</sup>

The last four techniques also found to be used by terrorists are:

- 5) Terrorists view of themselves as the saviours of their people;

---

<sup>507</sup> Sykes, Gresham M. & Matza, D. (1957, p.666-669) Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency. *American Sociological Review*. 22 (6), 664–670.

<sup>508</sup> Hirschi, T. (1969, p. 208) *Causes of Delinquency*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>509</sup> Klockars, C. B. (1974, p.151) *The Professional Fence*. New York: Free Press.

<sup>510</sup> Canter, D. (2006, p. 120) The Samson Syndrome: Is There a Kamikaze Psychology? *Twenty-First Century Society*. 1 (2), 107–127.

- 6) The devaluation of their role and the transferring of responsibility to the leader or the group;
- 7) Disregards of the victims pain or undervalue it
- 8) Dehumanisation of the victims or making them irrelevant.<sup>511</sup>

The interviewees in the present research expressed their motives and hence their rationalisation for their involvement in violent activities and committing their terrorist acts and the analysis of this data will be detailed further.

### **The findings of this research**

The findings of this present research strongly support the theories related to the use of rationalisation/neutralisation techniques by terrorists, however with some modifications due to the characteristics of this particular group of leaders which show some different qualities than other members of their organisations. Accordingly, the techniques that were most substantially used by the majority of the interviewees were: the defence of necessity, claim of entitlement, feeling like a saviour, condemnation of the condemners, and denial of the law. Other techniques that were used by quite a few of the interviewees were: revenge, response to acts of disrespect and the plea of collateral damage. However, there was almost no use of techniques such as: the denial of responsibility, the denial of injury, self-defence and the denial or obliviousness of the victim, as well as the claim that everybody else was doing it, which vindicates the unique characteristics of this group of leaders, as will be detailed further.

---

<sup>511</sup> Bandura, A. (1990, p.173-182) 'Mechanism of Moral Disengagement', in Walter Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Woodrow Wilson Centre Press and Cambridge University Press. pp. 161–191.

### **Techniques used by the majority of the interviewees:**

#### Defence of necessity:

The majority of the interviewees conveyed that their terrorist acts were absolutely necessary in order to achieve their vital goals of ending the occupation and helping progress towards the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. These assertions were expressed by the interviewees' strong belief in these causes and consequently their absolute certainty of the righteousness of their acts as well. As can be seen from the words of interviewee number 10,

The resistance influences the other side to change, if it is not comfortable then you want a change, therefore we need to assure that they would not feel comfortable and they will leave our land... I had to act, I cannot see myself sit aside and do nothing, it had to be done.

This interviewee is a Hamas leader who is in prison for life for committing a murder as well as other terrorist's acts, and he is known for his persistent struggle against the prison authorities as well as never showing any regret for his actions.

Interviewee number 9 explained the essential nature of these acts differently:

Never in my life had I thought of committing violent acts, never. I thought that I would go to study in the university, I always found myself surrounded by books, not guns. It is weird the way things turned up indeed, but I will say it again and again - it is my duty, I had to do it.

This interviewee is a member of the Islamic Jihad and has been sentenced to life for leading numerous terrorists' acts that have killed and injured many Israelis. He never regretted his acts or showed any remorse, and always argued that he did it in order to

end the occupation and that he had the right to do so in order to defend himself and his people. This leads on to the next rationalisation technique- the claim of entitlement.

Claim of entitlement:

By committing the actual act of terrorism and further to the interviewees' expression of the necessity of their actions, it was also quite obvious in their discourse that they all felt entitled to do it, that it was their right as Palestinians/Arabs/deprived people to do something that would lead to the much needed and desired change. As interviewee number 3 clarified:

There is no justice, occupation is an unjust thing and everything that comes out of it is unjust... I did what I did out of belief and ideology and I stand behind my actions. I chose it; I led myself to do it and nobody else led me, because I believe that I had the right to do it... I am not religious at all but my Palestinisation (a term he claimed for explaining the aspect of being Palestinian) is secret then god and I strongly believe that as a Palestinians we had to act.

Interviewee number 8 noted:

When I first joined the organisation and became an activist we were only a few, we had no weapons so we went out on the street and started throwing stones but it was against our culture that they kill us and we do nothing, as Arabs and Palestinians we had the right to act against it we had to do more.

Both leaders are from the Fatah and are known as quite dominant in the organisation and in their extreme views relating to the conflict and its conduct and they expressed the common perception of the vast majority of the interviewees as to the necessity of their acts as well as their obvious right to do it.

Feeling like a saviour:

Further to their strong beliefs in their actions as well as their absolute right to do them, it is consequently very obvious from their attitudes and general statements that they feel that everything they have done was in order to help their people and nation, and hence they see themselves as saviours and idols of their social surroundings. Furthermore the immense support and admiration they receive back from their social surrounding<sup>512</sup> is their assurance of their status as heroes among their society and the saviours of their people. As interviewee number 7 emphasised:

I should not be punished at all for what I have done; I should be awarded with higher ranks and prizes for my deeds... I am here for nothing, I am not a criminal and I did not kill for money or steal from anyone. I did it for the Palestinian people and a future state.

This interviewee is a Fatah leader, sentenced to life in prison for leading some extreme terrorist acts that were responsible for the killing and injuries of many Israelis. However, this is his second imprisonment, his first one was for criminal acts that he denied and which do not fit well with his statements. Yet like the majority of the interviewees he feels that he is a constructive figure, who got involved in these activities for the sake of his nation.

As interviewee number 9 said, “Everything I have done in my life I did it for my people, I have given up my life for them and for my nation and I will do anything I can in order to protect them”.

---

<sup>512</sup> Information regarding the support received by the families and general social surrounding can be found in chapter 7 of this thesis, p.258-262.

The condemnation of the condemners- Perceptions of Israeli society and the occupation

All the interviewees see the occupation as the source of all evil. The occupation represents for them Israeli society, the Israeli government, as well as the Israel-Palestinian conflict as a whole. Furthermore it seems that even though they mostly do not deny anything they have done and express full responsibility for their actions, they still blame it on the occupation and strongly believe that if it were not for the occupation they would not have needed to undertake these violent acts, as they would have not been in this situation. As interviewee number 6 explained:

I blame the occupation for the entire situation, the man I murdered symbolised the occupation for me, I killed the occupation that is in him and not him as a person, I have nothing against him personally... I told the head intelligence officer here in prison, that your mentality must change; it is a militant society and this way of thinking and mentality must change. The Israeli society has to understand that the occupation is an ugly thing.

Or as interviewee number 13 noted:

I blame the occupation for everything that is happening, if it were not for the occupation I would have never get to the point that I need to do what I did, if there was no occupation why would I?

These two interviewees are both Fatah leaders, sentenced to life sentences for murder and other terrorist's acts. Neither regrets their acts and both believe their actions essential to end the occupation, which they see as the main and foremost malicious aspect in their lives and their society in general.

Denial of the law- Perception of Israeli law

Most of the interviewees, nearly 89%, expressed their complete denial of Israeli law, arguing that they are Palestinians and should not have been standing in front of an Israeli court at all. They perceive the Israeli justice system as unjust and acting on political means rather than neutral ones, while current events during their trials such as terrorist bombings in Israeli territory had a severe influence on their conviction and sentence. This is emphasised by the fact that most of them perceived their lawyers to be irrelevant, who could not do much to help them in their cases due to the fact that their sentences were predictable. Some of them expressed gratitude for their lawyer's efforts while others claimed that their lawyers were very good but it would not have made much of a difference to their sentences. Others blamed the Israeli authorities for appointing their cases to a dysfunctional lawyer or disrupting them from getting a good one in order to damage their chances of getting a better verdict.

This is emphasised by the statements of some of the interviewees such as interviewee number 3, a Fatah leader who argued:

I do not believe in the Israeli law, I am not Israeli and should not be judged by Israelis. My acts were all for my country, nation and law. There should be a differentiation between a security prisoner and criminal who acts against his society you are not my society.

Or interviewee number 11, a Hamas leader who claimed:

If someone should have judged me it should not have been an Israeli court, no one should have judged me, the Israeli court should have judged himself, they took our houses and yet judging us? This is not justice... my lawyer could not have changed anything, I put him there only to arrange my visits with the family so they could come to court, I have to have a lawyer according to the law but he was not even present at the trial, he could not come and I did not want to postpone it, just told them to read the verdict and that is it, it did not matter if he was there or not.



Interviewee number 14, a Fatah leader, added:

My trial was not right at all, I see on television other prisoners who are released from prison and I think that it is not fair, if there is a terrorist bombing on the day of your trial you will get many years in prison is that right?... my lawyer was not good at all, he did not even say anything during the trial, even though he said he would.

These three statements are expression of the interviewees' disregard for the Israeli law as well as of being standing in a trial at all and furthermore reveal their attitude towards the conduct of the trial which they perceive as totally predictable for being unjust and unethical.

#### Denial or obliviousness of the victim- Perception of the victim

The majority of the interviewees use this technique of denying the victim, though in quite different ways. While most of them dismissed the existence of their victims, claiming that they did not spend much time thinking about them due to the fact that they were engaged with other demanding occurrences relating to the conflict and the outcomes of their acts. Others denied the victims were innocent and argued that they were occupiers and soldiers and hence were legitimate targets. The few interviewees who did acknowledge their victims and identified with their pain, found a different rationalisation for this ethical self-struggle by highlighting the total essentiality of their acts and the critics in the achievement of their goals. As interviewee number 6, a Fatah leader, clearly explained:

I love human beings and from that perspective I think of the victim's family. I feel their pain and identified with it in all my hurt. But I still ask you all to understand me and insist that there was a reason that I turned from a romantic person with dreams to conquer the world into a

murderer, it is not easy; I had to do it. I do not know if they will understand but I do not care, I identify with them.

Or another interesting quote from interviewee number 9, an Islamic Jihad leader who said:

I am just a human, I am not happy for what I have done and not happy with being in prison. When I see someone dead I am not happy, even if it is a Jew because I am human but overall as a human I also cannot live in an occupation, it is to live like an animal. My only problem is with the occupation and not with the Jews... there are two lines, which you find similar but I think they are different. The first line is me as a human, inside me I am angry and sad for everything that I have done, even for the soldiers I killed with my bare hands but on the other side as a person who lives under an occupation, I am telling you that every soldier must die... There was a nineteen year old girl that was sitting in front of me who asked me why I killed her sister? I told her that she looks very nice and that I did not kill her sister because she is her sister but because she is a symbol of the occupation, I have no problem with her personally.

This leader is in prison for life for leading multiple deadly terrorist operations and as can be understood from his words he does not regret any of his actions. Nonetheless, these statements show the constant need of the interviewees to justify themselves and their actions and to be presented as moral human beings who share the victims' pain, whereas essentially they perceive them as symbols of the occupation rather than actual victims.

On the other hand, interviewee number 10, a Hamas leader, expressed it differently:

They are not victims, they are soldiers that came to our territories to kill, and hence they are not victims. I had no contact with the people that were injured when my unit attacked them. I do think that by doing this I influenced their families to think that the occupation must end, that they have losses.

An example of other sort of dismissal of the victims can be seen by interviewee number 12, who is sentenced for life for killing few Israelis:

I do not know them personally and have no idea how I influenced them or their families. Collectively, I added a small layer which along with such layers others adds, the mind set and thinking of the Israelis is changing.

These two interviewees expresses two types of total denial of the victims, where interviewee number 9 does not perceive them as victims at all rather than combatants who are a righteous targets, and interviewee number 12 who prefer to ignore them completely.

### **Techniques that were used by some of the interviewees:**

#### Revenge:

Many of the interviewees shared a need for revenge due to different events that happened in their life, whether it was a personal event or rather something general that happened on a national level such as the occupation and grievances they experience on a daily basis and hence feel the need for revenge. While it seems that most of the triggers for revenge happened out of personal reasons rather than general national ones and the latter are the ones that further encouraged them to commit their violence acts. McCauley and Moskalenko, describe revenge on a personal level which leads to terrorism as one of the main motives for self-sacrificing terrorists and they give a few examples such as the Chechen Black Widows that seek revenge against Russians for their victimisation due to rapes they have suffered or the deaths of their men; the Tamil Tigers suicide brigades called ‘‘Black Tigers’’ or Palestinian suicide

terrorists who revenge their traumatic experiences caused by the Sinhalese or the Israeli army.<sup>513</sup>

As can be seen from the words of interviewee number 11, a Hamas leader who argued:

Everything that happened to me (in relation to terrorism) happened after my brother was killed... a person that I loved and looked up to, he was very successful, in all aspects and had many friends all over the country, even more than my dad. I joined Az'adin Al-Qasam (the military wing of Hamas) and wanted revenge, to vent my anger and the grief I felt for him and for my mum when I saw her in pain, mourning her first born.

Or interviewee number 8, a Fatah leader, who said:

I had to decide what I should do. I could have gone to America to study; my dad was even willing to pay for it, but after my friend Jamal died I decided to stay and continue with the armed struggle. Until then I was just throwing stones but after he died I realised that it was not enough to fight like that against the occupation. My friend was just throwing stones with me, he was not dangerous to the soldiers but they just wanted to kill, so I wanted revenge and that lead me to the things I have done. I never considered myself as someone who holds a weapon, but when you see your friends dying in front of you your whole life changes.

Both interviewees expressed their need for revenge which drown them to join the terrorist organisations and further commit the violent acts, however this need for revenge does not seem to be extensively used by most interviewees where nearly 67% of them tried to give their actions a more rational and logical sense such as the first few justifications detailed previously of expressions of necessity, claim of entitlement and condemned the condemners.

---

<sup>513</sup> McCauley, C. & Moskalenko, S. (2008, p.418) Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation: Pathways toward Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 20 (3), 415–433; See also Merari, A. (2010, p. 125-127) *Driven to death: psychological and social aspects of suicide terrorism*. Oxford University Press.

Response to disrespect:

Further to the rationalisation technique of the need for revenge, though the general attitude of the interviewees was of overall feelings of disrespect and total disregard of their needs and demands, some of the interviewees, 3 out of the eighteen, detailed specific experiences of disrespect which was the main trigger that pushed them towards committing violent acts. Interviewee number 5, a Hamas leader, statement is a good example and his story emphasises it well:

I joined the armed struggle because of various things that happened. I went through an immense humiliation when an intelligence officer took my ID and forced me to run around the street if I wanted to have it back. I refused to do it and he came to my house and caused a lot of damage and beat me. There have been other acts that have been done in order to humiliate Palestinian society such as Druse soldiers who entered our villages and harassed Arab girls; they just wanted to humiliate us and to motivate us to act.

However, there was almost no use of techniques that expressed a sense of renunciation from their personal involvement in these acts or from their responsibility in committing them, such as denial of responsibility.

Denial of responsibility:

Most interviewees declared clearly their involvement in the terrorist acts and expressed the necessity of these actions for the Palestinian cause as well as taking full responsibility for committing it. However, a small percentage of the interviewees deny any responsibility for the terrorist acts they have been accused of or for the severe outcomes of the acts as has been presented in their cases. Two of the interviewees, who deny their acts completely, argued that it was false evidence and

conspiracy against them (interviewees numbers 4 and 14). Whereas five of the interviewees support the violent struggle and their organisation's activities but claim that there is not much truth in their files and the allegations against them. To be specific: interviewee number 1 argued that he committed his act as part of a childish group of kids and the death of the victim could have been by any members of the group. Interviewee number 2 claimed that he was indeed in charge of judging the victims, who were collaborators, but had no part in their execution. Interviewee number 12 admitted to being the leader of an attack but not the killer of the victims who were part of it and interviewee number 18 admitted kidnapping the victims but not for killing him as was argued by the Israeli court.

Examples from the interviewee's statements to emphasize this are detailed as follows:

Interviewee number 14, a Fatah leader who is not willing to admit anything, argued:

Everything that is written in my files is not true. Whoever wrote it works with the Israeli intelligence and writes what he wants in order to hurt me. The only thing I admit of is that my brothers asked me to drive suicide bombers and I refused, all the rest is a lie.

An example for admitting to part of the allegations with no condemnation of the actions is from interviewee number 2, who is a Hamas leader convicted of killing some collaborators, claims:

Within the Hamas organisation there is a branch that is in charge of handling collaborators or people that do not behave in a proper way. My role was to make sure that the interrogation was done according to Islamic law, that they talk out of their free will and that they are saying the truth. I had nothing to do with the executing of the verdicts, the others did it, it was not my job...I knew these people and believe in what they received (their punishment), nobody was doing to their people what they did.

In addition, there were a few interviewees who also felt the need to blame others for being responsible for their imprisonment due to betraying their trust and exposing them to the Israeli intelligence or police. As interviewee number 16 explained:

I blame someone else for what happened to me. We were a group of people from different organisations and we all promised each other not to give away information on one another. But there was one of these guys who went to prison and told them (the Israeli intelligence) about me too so they came and took me.

This interviewee is a Hamas leader in the youth section of the prison. However, interestingly the majority of the interviewees who made such claims of betrayals belonged to the Fatah organisation. These finding might be linked to the findings related to the differences between Hamas and Fatah discussed in Chapter four regarding the antisocial aspects found to a greater extent among Fatah interviewees compared to the Hamas ones.<sup>514</sup> Consequently, Fatah found to possess more symptoms of antisocial behaviour and hence are more likely to betray others and even their colleague or friends, while the Hamas found to be more moral and less prone to commit such acts.

Another relevant finding that relates to the sense of responsibility the interviewees expressed towards their involvement in the violent acts could be linked to Bandura's second rationalisation technique of the- *devaluation of their role and transferring of responsibility to the leader or the group*.<sup>515</sup> Although, as was detailed before, the sense of collectivism, community and mutual social responsibility have been observed to be significantly strong among this group of interviewees,<sup>516</sup> only a few of them were found to belittle their responsibility in the acts due to them being a part of a

---

<sup>514</sup> See chapter number 4 in this thesis, p.203-206.

<sup>515</sup> Bandura (1990, p.173-182).

<sup>516</sup> See chapter number 3 of this thesis, p.147-149.

group or in a position where they had to obey a higher authority. These findings, again, must be linked to the characteristics of this group of leaders who think of themselves as an authority figures and hence take the responsibility mainly on themselves. One of the rare examples of reducing responsibility can be highlighted by the words of interviewee number 14, a Fatah leader who argued:

I am here more than five years and it is not because I am a criminal. I am an officer in the Palestinian police, I have a manager, it is like a soldier in the army, he cannot say no to his officer. I said in my trial that I am sorry if I did something wrong, but I was just obeying orders; if you have a problem with it you should talk to my manager.

This leader has been sentenced to numerous years for leading failed terrorist operations and operations of different terrorists' acts. It is his fourth imprisonment though he expressed regret for his acts in front of the court and asserts that he would not commit such acts again.

#### Denial of injury:

There was nearly no reference by the interviewees of denial of the damage they have done or the injuries they have caused by their terrorist acts. This can be probably explained by their mostly complete recognition of the necessity of their acts and consequently its results, as was discussed previously. Nevertheless, some of the interviewees argue that they are in a state of war and in a war there are no rules and everything is allowed. In that sense, it seems that they do ignore the difficult consequences of the encounter they are taking part in. Examples of such statements can be found by interviewee number 18's words, a female Fatah leader who is in prison for life due to a murder of an Israeli teenager, she asserts that:



I know that I am in prison because of what I have done and I accept it, but the way we see it is quite different from the way you see it. You see me as a criminal but we see us as fighters, that this is a war and in a war there are no rules and everything is allowed.

Or interviewee number 7, a Fatah leader, who adds:

Look, we do not want blood and we do not kill because of that, we want a state; we did not kill Jews just because we love it. But this is a war and when its start it all bursts out, people are dying from both sides, there are no rules, I did not think any more and we started to operate with any means possible.

#### Things happen- Collateral damage

There was also nearly no reference to the interviewees' perception regarding the results of their actions as something that can happen naturally or as part of life's normal occurrences. It is probably due to their strong belief in the evil and unjust behaviour of the 'occupation' which they perceive as basically wrong and not normal which further leads them to the righteousness of their conduct and crucial but extreme behaviour. However it can be related to a comparable attitude which some of the interviewees expressed in their statements, acknowledging the fact that the results of their acts are occurrences that necessarily happens as part of any war, where people are dying on both sides and bad things happens to everyone. As interviewee number 13, a Fatah leader explained:

I used to think about the conflict and what I am doing and know what it is going to cause, how can I say it, it is not for people... before the intifada I used to go in to Israel, talking to Jews but not killing them but it happened with the conflict. The aim was to help my country and to be free, in the conflict they kill us and we kill them but they are not going to prison. If I was a criminal then that is right but I did not kill because I because I love to kill people it is just what happens along the way in these situations.

Or interviewee number 2, a Hamas leader, added:

The religion of Islam says that you are not allowed to hurt women, children and adults, but we are in a state of war, we were drawn into it, especially the Hamas which is a religious organisation and in a war that is what happened.

Self-defence:

Although the interviewees expressed, to a great extent, the necessity of their actions in order to defend themselves and their social surroundings and nation, nonetheless, the argument was mostly related to the aspect of national defence<sup>517</sup>; they all felt they were doing it for the greater good and not for their own interests and needs. One interviewee, however, added to this argument the aspect of self-defence as well, claiming that what he did was in order to defend himself, he felt that his life was in danger and he had to act accordingly otherwise he would be dead. As was demonstrated by his words:

My trial was unjust, what I did was out of self-defence. I was a stationary target to soldiers that killed people. I had an uncle that was shot dead inside the university, and my cousin was harassed by an Israeli intelligence guy, who wanted him to work for him as a collaborator, he pushed him really hard even though he refused. This guy asked questions about me too and I knew he would come for me as well. He wanted to kill me so I had to defend myself.

This was interviewee number 6, a Fatah leader, sentenced to life imprisonment, mainly for this act of murder. It is important to add that in some of the interviewee's personal files, there was some mention, among other matters, of self-defence as their justification for committing the acts of terror, however, only interviewee number 6 argued this directly in his interview with the researcher, the others did not.

---

<sup>517</sup> As was elaborated previously in the chapter in relation to the rationalisation techniques which were widely used by the interviewees.

## Conclusions

This chapter elaborates on the interviewees' general perceptions based on their ways of rationalising their terrorist acts. While varied criminal and terrorist's rationalisation techniques were detailed and analysed through the interviewees' statements and other resources available to this study such as their personal files, the findings suggest an extensive use of different kinds of rationalisation techniques with some adjustment to this group of terrorist leaders. Six techniques have been found to be used by the majority of the interviewees, of which five are part of Sykes and Matza neutralisation techniques that are intended to fit criminal behaviour and mind set. These techniques are: defence of necessity, claim of entitlement, condemn of the condemners, denial of the law and the denial of the victim. The only widely used technique by the interviewees that was destined to actually fit terrorists' conduct is Bandura's technique of the terrorist feeling as the saviours of their people.

The other techniques that were found to be used by only some of the interviewees are characterised mostly as specific techniques used by terrorists and all refer to Canter's assumptions of rationalisation techniques - the search for revenge, the reaction to disrespect, the attitude of 'things happened' and the claim of self-defence. The one other rarely used technique that was found is again Sykes and Matza technique of denial of responsibility. Techniques that had no reference at all or even some relevant links to them are- the metaphor of the ledger and the claim that everyone else is doing it, which both are related to criminal attitude and clearly were not found to be used by the terrorist leaders interviewed in this research.

It seems that most of the techniques used by the interviewees intended for criminals rather than terrorists which highlight the fact that this is a unique group who has different characteristics, whereas from the ten criminal techniques they were found to use those that are rational and yet expresses strong self-confidence such as: defence of necessity, claim of entitlement, condemn of the condemners, denial of the law and the denial of the victim. The same can be applied to the only terrorist base technique used widely as well- feeling as the saviours of their people. Consequently, other techniques such as: the search for revenge, the reaction to disrespect, the attitude of 'things happened' and the claim of self-defence, that even though were aimed specifically for terrorists were probably not directed at the leaders of these groups who would prefer not to use such rhetoric, but generally referred to the members of the groups who are more likely to delegate responsibility and minimize their own. The same can be said on the other criminal techniques- - the metaphor of the ledger and the claim that everyone else is doing it, which was not used at all by the leaders.

## **Chapter 6: Results- Leadership profile**

### **Introduction**

As was detailed in the introduction of this thesis<sup>518</sup> the leaders of prisoners convicted of terrorist offenses in Israeli prisons play a significant role within the prisons with regard to the prisoners, the organisations and their communities outside the prison, as well as with the prison authorities, with whom they act as mediators. Nonetheless, there is a lack of valid information and research as to the nature of their conduct and characteristics as leaders, or any data that describes how they perceive themselves as leaders and the role of leadership itself. The following chapter will elaborate mostly on the interviewees' perceptions of leadership and their opinions regarding how they might fit this role, as well as how, according to the analysis of these findings and the literature review on leadership, these leaders are defined, and whether they are 'charismatic' leaders or not.

### **Leadership of terrorist organisations in Israeli prisons**

#### **Findings of the present research:**

This research discovers significant differences between the characteristics of religious versus secular leadership. In light of these differences the study confirms certain aspects of the existing research which relate to the characteristics of the interviewees as charismatic leaders. The study also describes some of their main perceptions as to the way they view members in the organisation versus the organisation's objectives

---

<sup>518</sup> See chapter 1- introduction of this thesis, p.123-124.

and their personal perceptions of leadership as well. However, the findings challenge the existing literature regarding their main conduct and decision making process, which are also influenced by the religious aspect they are descended from. It does this by exploring their leadership conduct and as such makes a contribution as to how leaders of religious organisations versus secular ones choose to function differently at their capacity of leader in these movements.

There was a high degree of variation amongst the leaders interviewed in this research project, in terms of the type of terrorist organisation they lead, the rank they hold and their experiences in the field. However, all had been incarcerated for committing terror acts and all were playing an important role within the leadership authorities inside the prisons. The following findings will elaborate on their perceptions regarding the common aspects of leadership they all share. The analysis of this information will seek to explain the commonalities these leaders share within this group or with other types of leaders, as well as the differences in their leadership conduct within the terrorist organisations in prisons and elsewhere in other leadership positions. As it is a qualitative study that focuses on the phenomena of security prisoners leadership in Israeli prisons and their perceptions of their roles and conduct, the information described below consist of their interpretations and view point regarding to this aspect. It reveals additional insight into their mind-set and constitutes yet another angle of the social-psychology profile investigated in this thesis.

### **The interviewee's self-perception of leadership**

#### Leadership as an inherent quality:

The vast majority of the interviewees, 83%, described themselves as 'leaders from birth' - from an early age they had been in charge of everything, at home within their family, at school, later on in the organisation and in every aspect of their lives. As can be seen by the words of interviewee number 1,

I can say that I am a leader from birth, even in my childhood I was always in charge of the other kids. If there is something that I am not in charge of I do not like to be involved in it, it was the same thing at school and outside when I played with friends, I was always in charge of everything. I am the spokesman of the prisoners in prison; otherwise I would not feel comfortable and won't stay still. It had always come naturally for me and not out of any process I went through.

This leader is a Fatah member who is considered to be a very charismatic, intelligent and open-minded leader, vastly experienced and wise.

In addition, most of the leaders stated that it is not enough to inherently possess leadership qualities, it is also essential to work hard and gain managerial experience, as well as experience in facing difficult situations. According to their statements, there is a certain process a leader has to go through in order to prove him or herself as a valuable and successful leader. As described by interviewee number 5,

Reality proves that I am a leader. Since birth I was a leader, at school and everywhere I went, as well as later at work and also in university, I was in charge of everything. I always make sure I develop myself and my capabilities, though in prison my resources are limited, by books and through the media I enrich myself, I learn a lot and I develop my capabilities. Leadership is the experience and the process I went through in life that taught me everything I know, because even if you are born with the qualities of a leader, without learning and experiencing you cannot succeed as a leader.

This interviewee is a Hamas leader, he is very dominant in the organisation and he holds radical views, however he is considered to be a very cooperative leader within prison.

The only three interviewees who did not see themselves as leaders from birth were all Fatah members, one of them was a minor when the interview was conducted, acting as a leader in the youth section in prison. They all expressed little desire to be leaders and they described no leadership symptoms as children, but explained it as an acquired quality that they developed due to certain needs later on in their life. As interviewee number 8 stated,

I am not a leader from birth. I was never a leader in high school and nobody saw me as a leader. In 1999 when the veteran prisoners were released and we were left in prison, we realised that now we have to be responsible for the new inmates in prison. I cannot say that I am a leader but it happened suddenly, I had no intentions. It was a sudden process, as a child I never wanted to be a leader, I was always close to the leader but never agreed to lead, and here it was a sudden compulsory.

This Fatah leader had been elected to the main committee of the Fatah in spite of his reluctant attitude towards being a leader. Nonetheless, most interviewees expressed strong affiliation with leadership and perceived it as inherent quality, which they naturally possess, although they were also aware of the importance of constant work and experience.

#### Struggled to become a leader?

The interviewees expressed their attitudes towards becoming leaders, whether they had to fight over it and compete with others in order to become leaders, or whether it came easily for them. They discussed their perception of leadership, whether it was an important part of their life, or whether they felt an obligation to lead and contribute to



their society by being leaders, due to a need of the hour, while otherwise they might have preferred to do something else with their lives.

Only a minority of the interviewees in this research stated that they had to fight to become leaders, as well as investing a lot of effort in proving themselves as the right individuals for the position or by expressing their opinions and abilities to find the right balance for everyone involved. Four of this minority of interviewees were Fatah members while only one was a Hamas leader, who explained:

In order to be a leader you have to struggle with people otherwise you cannot be a leader, it is in our nature. Everyone prefers to control others and if you want to be in control it does not come easily, sometimes you gather enemies and opponents and sometimes they can make you lose your place as a leader. You also need to confront others by expressing your own opinions; you have to be brave, to speak out loud, even though it is not acceptable.

This leader was known as being a very dominant leader within the Hamas organisation, who speaks his mind loudly and influences others.

This approach can be seen from the words of a Fatah leader, interviewee number 3,

I was born with the qualities of a leader but I developed them, I have to make a lot of efforts even if it is inherent in me, I need to invest in it and work very hard to fight against the extremists in the organisation, mostly democratically but sometimes you have to be blunt. It is a constant struggle and there is a persistent need to keep the balance and to manoeuvre between the different sides; whoever has the ability to do so succeed in his role as a strong leader.

This leader was known to be a very influential and radical leader but became less dominant due to being transferred to another prison where there was a relatively big group of leaders who were even more dominant and influential, making him a smaller fish in a bigger pond.

Most of the interviewees, thirteen out of the eighteen, detailed no struggles or extensive efforts made by them to become leaders. They all explained it as being a natural process they went through or that a good leader is unpretentious and acts as his own self, qualities people appreciate when they need to decide on their chosen leader. As interviewee number 2, Hamas leader explained,

There are elections in the prison regularly; I never put my name as one of the nominees and never fought with anyone in order to be elected or promote myself and I always get elected to the higher rank. I never fought in order to be a leader, if I need to be there then I will be there, that is leadership and the basic responsibility of a leader is that others will genuinely elect him.

The majority of this group, nine out of thirteen, even expressed total acceptance of a situation in which a better candidate would be chosen in their place, as interviewee number 15 detailed,

I will fight over leadership only if I think that the others are not good or damaging the organisation, otherwise I am not interested, if there is someone better than me that can serve the organisation and the people well, then I do not mind him being there. I do not have the inclination for leadership just so I can be a leader, in most of the elections I am elected to the main committee, if I feel that my colleagues are weak I will stay so the organisation would not be damaged. But if I am not elected and I see that there are problems I will assist them anyway, my only interest is that things will work out well a lot more than the leadership itself.

These statements demonstrate the leaders' reservations regarding the need to struggle in order to become a leader, as well as the extensive efforts required in order to maintain this position. They perceived a leader as someone who does not promote himself and is popular due to his actions. The majority even expressed full acceptance of being replaced by others better suited to leadership than them.

### Basic principles of leadership:

The interviewees were asked about how they perceived the main principles of their leadership role. Their answers were varied and detailed, allowing several themes to emerge through the analysis of the data. One of the main themes which were mentioned by most interviewees was the perception of proper leadership conduct and the different aspects this involved including: justice, mutual respect, the preference of others, equality, problem solving methods and keeping the balance within the organisation. The second theme related to their self-expectations as leaders, meaning the qualities they believed a leader must have such as: reliability, openness, responsibility, moderation and setting a personal example. Some of the interviewees detailed the importance of the type of rules a leader should follow in the third theme to emerge: religion based rules, the rules of the organization, or other policies acceptable by the leader.

#### *Theme One - significant aspects of leadership conduct*

The majority of the interviewees, twelve out of eighteen, referred to how a leader should lead and what kind of models he has to follow. Many of the interviewees expressed mutual-respect and keeping the balance within the organisation as one of the most important things a leader must maintain, while another significant aspect mentioned by the interviewees was the ability to solve problems immediately and with minimal damage, which shows a more practical side of leadership. As interviewee number 3, a Fatah leader explained:

My principles are that I never dismiss any implications, though I am not objective but I know that when I focus on something and make the

decisions about it I take everything into consideration, I choose between the alternatives I have and minimize damages, I do not like everyone but I have to decide for them as well so I must keep some mutual respect. I build my decisions on these aspects of seeing the bigger picture and keeping the balance within the members in the organisation.

Interviewee number 4, a Fatah leader, argued:

Being a leader is a hassle, no one is perfect and not all prisoners are the same; they do not behave the same in different places such as in the block or outside and they think differently from one another, but despite all that everyone says that my block is the best block in prison, because I solve problems immediately, if there is any problem it gets solved on the spot, while I take care that everyone will live in peace and that is the most important thing.

These two Fatah leaders displayed a very practical side of leadership in prison of being valuable and efficient by keeping an open mind and awareness to details.

Other aspects that were mentioned by a few of the interviewees were justice and equality; both were referred to by the interviewees as being non-discriminatory with the members in the organisation and treating them with fairness and decency. As can be understood from the words of interviewee number 13, a Fatah leader:

I love justice and being fair; a leader who patronizes his members and differentiates between them is not a good leader, for me they are all the same... if someone make mistake for the first time I do not dismiss him, I tell him to learn from his mistake and not do it again, and there are many that do learn the lesson.

Interviewee number 15 who is also a Fatah leader also stated:

I believe in being fair and not differentiating between people, even though there are differences between people - but they all drink water, so I cannot give someone a drink and not the other.

Only two interviewees expressed the need to consider the preferences of others before theirs as an important principle of being a leader, one of them belonged to the Islamic

Jihad while the other was a Fatah member. They both perceived it as a very hard aspect of leadership, detailed respectively:

My sense of responsibility forces me to invest my time for the benefit of the organization and its members and not my own... I am twenty nine and have been in this business for fifteen years. Do you know what it does to me? Sometimes I feel like I have no emotions anymore, it is hard; being a leader wears you out, you have to give up everything for the others and sometimes you become apathetic and it is not normal.” (Interviewee number 9).

Interviewee number 7 stated:

It is a hard thing to be a leader and it is a big responsibility, you have to do things not for yourself and even to do a lot better for everyone; whoever is the leader must sit a side with no food and allow others to eat.

This theme reveals the practical as well as the moral aspects the leaders perceived as the right way to lead touching upon efficiency, justice and altruism.

### *Theme Two - the leader's self-expectations*

Most of the interviewees, thirteen out of the eighteen, also expressed other principles of leadership that related more to the leader themselves and the qualities they perceive as significant for any leader. Many of the interviewees stated that self-responsibility and reliability in a leader were major features of leadership; that a leader must stand behind his decisions and never shy away from his obligations, as well as being trustworthy and known for keeping his word. As interviewee number 2 stated,

I believe that a leader is judged by his ability to make hard decisions, I see it as my personal responsibility and I think that the most important thing about leadership is not to run away from responsibility.

This was a Hamas leader, very dominant and senior in the organisation, who is known for his ability to make hard decisions when needed. Or interviewee number 1, a Fatah leader who is known for being straight forward and he refers to reliability as his most important leadership characteristics, stating:

My most important principle is to be reliable and not to lie ever. If I find something to be hard to say, or if I have a problem with saying it, then I will find ways to say it indirectly but I will never lie.

Several interviewees stated that their leadership principles are openness and moderation, openness refers to being open minded towards other ideas and other members in the organisation, moderation refers to being reasonable and calm, keeping things from going out of hand. As can be seen from the words of interviewee number 8:

My basic principle is to be clear with people, to be open. If I see an irresponsible person I have no problem telling him to go to his cell and not to interfere. I have nothing to hide and I say what I think, who ever think otherwise must say what is on his mind as well and if there are other good ideas I have no problem to accept them.

This was a Fatah leader who was perceived by the prison authorities as a manipulator and negatively dominant, but it was not the same impression the researcher had when interviewing this leader, as she felt he was quite open and straight forward, even more so than other interviewees. Or interviewee number 14 who related to the aspect of being moderate, as can be seen from his words:

A leader is a politician and as such I have to manoeuvre between things, to keep the balance, so it would not become violent, and so everything will go smoothly and calmly.

This is also a Fatah leader who is perceived in prison as a moderate leader who has a history of forcing other extreme prisoners to behave more moderately. According to this theme the interviewees perceived a good leader as responsible, reliable, open minded and sensible which correlates well with their perceptions of the first theme of good leadership that is righteous and efficient.

*Theme three - rules the leaders must work by*

The last theme found by the analysis of the interviewee's self-expression of how they perceived leadership principles was their main beliefs in the code or ethics they have to follow while carrying out the role of leadership. Less than half of the interviewees, seven in all, found it important to have clear guidelines such as religious rules, rules originating from the organisation's convention or democratic principles. For obvious reasons, out of the six interviewees who belonged to religious organisations - Hamas and Islamic Jihad, five declared religion to be the main principle guiding their leadership. Of them, four were Hamas members and one was a member of the Islamic Jihad. As interviewee number 10 explained clearly:

My principles are linked to Islam; I take the rules of Islam and try my best to implement them as much as I can, in order to convince the people that these rules are for the greater good. (*Don't you have your own principles as a leader?*) No. It has to go with Islam because it is all that matters. But I do have some criticism and if something is wrong, I am willing to take full responsibility for it.

Or as interviewee number 11 also declared,

My principles are linked to religion; I cannot take anything from the outside and change the direction in which religion leads us. (*Don't you have principles of your own as a leader?*) Even if I had my own principles, if religion says otherwise I must follow it. There are many things that we come across which do not fit with religion, they deviate from our education and culture and they are prohibited.

Both quotes are from Hamas leaders who are perceived as very dominant leaders and quite extreme in their views and religious devotion, expressed in their general conduct.

Three interviewees stated that democratic principles serve as their ethical guideline to leadership, two from the Fatah and one from Hamas. The Hamas leader linked democracy with religion and found it to be compatible, as can be understood from his words:

I look at Hamas and I want to see democracy, openness, the time for one leader to lead the organisation has passed. I believe in democracy, I see the Israeli democracy and I appreciate it. The Israeli society is getting stronger due to the democracy and in the day it will stop being such it will collapse. Nevertheless, my basic principles are the rules of the religion and I adjust it to democracy all the time and find the balance of what is wrong and what is right.

This was interviewee number 10 who was known as very dominant in the organisation and in his radical and strict religion and general views. The two Fatah leaders expressed varied views, interviewee number 8 explained how he learned to appreciate democracy and its benefits in prison, since outside within the squad he served in they had everything decided for them. Interviewee number 1 found it important to stick to the organisations strict rules in order to maintain the discipline and order in prison.

The examples detailed above, and the analysis of this aspect of the leader's basic principles of leadership reveal a significant pattern - out of the twelve interviewees who expressed their basic principles as relating more to the conduct and behaviour of



a leader, ten were affiliated with the Fatah, one with Hamas and one from the Islamic Jihad. The pattern changed a little in the second theme, where more leaders of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, four out of thirteen, expressed their views of leadership values to be more of the personal qualities a leader must have. The dramatic change in the pattern came in the third theme, where out of the eight interviewees who referred to the basic rules a leader must follow as the main principle of leadership, four were Hamas leaders (out of the five Hamas members interviewed in this research) and one from the Islamic Jihad, which highlights the dominant role religion has within these organisations.

Organisation purposes versus the members in the organisation:

The interviewees were also asked what they found more important to the conduct and endurance of the organisation, the members themselves who were active in maintaining it, or the organisation's targets, the main purpose for its existence. The findings point to the fact that half of the interviewees found the organisation's targets and purposes more important than the members of the organisation and they explained it by the fact that people sacrifice themselves for these purposes and hence these purposes are more significant. Another explanation was that they also function as collective guidelines, which cannot be modified for personal needs or inconveniences. As both interviewees, number 9, an Islamic Jihad member, and number 10, a Hamas leader, explained respectively:

The organisations purposes are more important, I am here due to these targets and not because of the people. If it is my personal purpose I might be able to give up on it but if it is a collective one, of the entire society, I cannot give up on it even for my mother's sake.

The other example used by interviewee number 10 was:

The organisations purposes are more important, people sacrifice themselves in order to achieve these targets and that is the amazing thing about it. A leader must set an example and therefore he must sacrifice himself first...I believe the purpose is most important and if my sacrifices will cause its fulfilment than I will do it.

The ratio among this group was an equal number of four Hamas interviewees versus four Fatah and one Islamic Jihad member.

Six interviewees stressed the importance of people within the organisation, rather than its targets. Five of these interviewees were Fatah members, while only one affiliated with Hamas. This finding might indicate the influence of religion as a higher value over the people themselves, and it may further explain the devotion and ability to sacrifice oneself and others which appears in Islamic organizations and other organisations which are motivated by religion.<sup>519</sup> As interviewee number 6, a Fatah leader, explained clearly:

The organisations targets are important for me, they represent me and I represent them. The people in the organisation are important as well, the individual is the most important. Israel as a country is one of the ugliest countries in the world, the war is not for the land but for the people, they are the main thing. The person is more important than the targets because without him it is impossible to implement the targets and sometimes he pays with his life. The member in the organisation needs to choose if he believes in the organisations targets, and if he does he has to commit, there is discipline, and if he does not he can leave, I do not disqualify him as a person but he does not fit with the organisations purposes.

The other three interviewees were divided into two; one person declared he did not see any of the two values as important at all. He stated that the only thing he cared

---

<sup>519</sup> Post (2005, p.620); Bakker (2006, p.1-3); Ranstorp, M. (1996, p.41-63) Terrorism in the Name of Religion. *Journal of International Affairs*. 50 (1), 41–63.

about was his family and close relatives back home who were depending on him, and that was the reason for his involvement in the organisation. The other two believed that the organisation's purposes and the people were both equally important and they do not have to contradict each other, one of them was a Fatah member and the other was not affiliated with any organisation, he served as the leading spokesman of the security prisoners in all Israeli prisons, and he had the following to say

In prison it goes together, the people and the targets, it has to work together as an integral part, it cannot collide because the individual invests in it and sacrifices a lot for these purposes. I am not a social worker, I am a leader for people within a structure, which I believe in, this is the political structure and therefore it has to go together.

The findings of this category suggest that though half of the interviewees declared preference for the organisation's purposes rather than the people who are involved in it, it seems that the majority of Hamas leaders adhered to this statement while most of the Fatah leaders declared the people in the organisation as more significant. As was mentioned previously, these findings may explain the influence of religion in minimizing the individual importance in comparison to other higher sources such as God and divine rules.

#### Leadership difficulties:

In this category the interviewees expressed the difficulties they found in their roles as leaders. According to the analysis of the findings, five different groups were found, where each group disclosed similar thoughts regarding leadership difficulties. The largest group, which contained six interviewees, argued that the hardest thing in being a leader relates to two main aspects of dealing with people in the organisation as well as leadership being a very demanding and exhausting job. Accordingly, they detailed

the need to work with different people who have different requirements, who sometimes can be quite unpleasant and difficult, and that being a leader puts the individual under a constant stress, forcing the leader to invest immense efforts in finding prompt solutions to difficult issues and shouldering great responsibility. As interviewee number 15, a Fatah leader explains:

It is very hard to lead others, it is a big responsibility, but I do not escape from it and do my best for others, for everyone, I have to take care of everyone and it is really hard to keep up. Sometimes I think to myself why do I need it? It is such a headache and they can manage on their own, but the common interest forces me to think of the greater good.

Or as interviewee number 5, a Hamas leader, stated:

I do not like to be involved in hard decisions that relate to other prisoners, I speak with them and try to convince them but there are always problems, prison is like a mad house and there is a lot of pressure that not all prisoners can deal with it.

The first quote was from a Fatah leader and the second one belongs to a leader who was affiliated with Hamas. Five out of the six interviewees within this group were Fatah members and only one was Hamas.

The second group contains five interviewees who felt that on top of the intense and hard work a leader undertakes, there are also self-sacrifices which they find hard to embrace, and these sacrifices have a strong effect on their lives and on the lives of their close relatives. As interviewee number 11, a Hamas leader, argued:

I do not want to be responsible for everything, I want to be free to be myself, maybe I will get there sometime but it is not now. I want to be who I am and leadership has drawn me into serious things and ties me up very strongly. It is very hard, you are in charge of fifty prisoners and there are many problems and sometimes you cannot solve them all.

This group was quite varied and contained people from all organisations, two from Fatah, one from Hamas, one from the Islamic Jihad, and one unaffiliated interviewee.

Three of the interviewees, two members of Fatah and one from the Hamas described the hard, gruelling work as the main difficulty a leader has to face, as interviewee number 16, a Hamas leader in the youth section states:

Leadership is a lot of work, a leader has to think a lot and will die eventually from all these thoughts...when I have to make hard decisions I think carefully, speak with everyone and then decide, this is the youth section, it is not like the adults, I am the only one who makes the decisions here, I am busy all the time, even now when I speak with you I am constantly thinking - did they go to the yard? Did they get food? It is thinking of everything all the time.

Two of the remaining four leaders expressed their difficulties mainly with dealing with people and having to sacrifice a lot as leader, one of them was a Hamas leader and the other one was a Fatah member. One other Hamas leader found dealing with people in the organization the hardest part of leadership, while only one leader, a Fatah affiliate, did not find any of these three aspects - hard work, self-sacrifice and dealing with people - as presenting leadership difficulties; in his view, the most difficult thing in being a leader was fighting over the leadership, and at times losing political battles and descending from the position of being a leader.

According to the findings, it is clear that the majority of interviewees find leadership to be very hard and demanding, however it seems that Fatah members also expressed their difficulties in dealing with the people in the organisation whereas Hamas and Islamic Jihad affiliates argued that the self-sacrifices involved in the role of leadership are the source of hardship. These findings fit with other findings discussed earlier in this chapter, where it was found that members of religious organisations expressed a

greater need to sacrifice themselves and others for the greater cause, and apparently that sacrifice is not that easy for them after all.

Decision making processes:

The purpose of this category was to explore the interviewees' decision making processes and whether they declared themselves as individuals who share this process and make decisions by consulting with others, or whether they made decisions independently without referring to others in the organisation. According to the analysis of the findings, half of the interviewees stated that although they normally listen to what the others have to say, they always decide independently as they see right. As interviewee number 4, a Fatah leader explained tersely, "[A] good leader asks his members for their opinion but if I do not like what they think I decide whatever I think is right."

The vast majority of this group, seven out of nine, related to Fatah, one was a Hamas leader and one was the unaffiliated prisoner. The Hamas leader, interviewee number 16, belonged to the youth section, where, he explained, there is no leadership committee such as in the adult section and therefore he had to make all the decisions by himself. Interviewee number 12, who did not affiliate with any organisation and also served as the main spokesman of the security prisoners, had to mediate between the organisations, as he explained:

I listen to what they have to say and if it is serious then I accept it but I make all the decisions alone! (*What if they do not like it?*) I tell them that only the final results will judge my actions. (*But that is not very democratic! He laughs and answers...*) I do not interfere at all with their internal lives, within their organisations they decide whatever they want and I do not mind. I am a foreign minister and make my decisions

only via the prison authorities, where you need skills and experience. I would like to explain to you how it works. The moment I let others interfere with the decision making process vis a vis the prison authorities, personal interests are involved, every organisation has its own needs and interests and I have to bridge them all, it is really difficult and hence I have to work that way. I am in that position because I do not belong to any organisation and have no interest in the matter, it is a precedent. My decisions are based on experience, constant involvement with the authorities and also a bit of wisdom, not that I am very smart but anyway.

Only four of the interviewees, two of them Fatah members and two from Hamas, stated that they always make their decisions with others and not alone, whether these others are members of the leadership committee or other senior members in the organisation. As can be seen from the words of interviewee number 2, a very senior Hamas leader:

Difficult decisions should always be solved by a committee and not alone. When there are few people who make the decisions it is better, I would not take this responsibility on myself alone, so there would be no mistake and more support on the matter at hand. The opinions of the organisation members are also very important and not only the leadership, because they are the basis of the organisation and they have to agree with it as well.

As interviewee number 7, a Fatah leader, also stated:

If I have to deal with difficult decisions I go to senior leaders, or even less senior ones, but I know they can help and we will decide together, we will do the right thing. It is better to consult with everyone, though my word is strong, it is important for me to consult with everyone.

The other five interviewees argued that they would use both methods of decision making processes, whether deciding by themselves, or sharing with others, while basing this on the need or the situation which arose. Again, as in the last category, four of them were divided equally between Hamas and Fatah, with two each, while the fifth individual in that group was an Islamic Jihad leader. Examples of such attitudes can be seen in the words of interviewee number 6, a Fatah leader who stated:

If I need to make some difficult decisions I first think of the solution and try to figure out if it is a good one or not, then I consult with others, or if I can I solve it by myself, depending on the situation. I normally make decisions very fast; I do not like to keep it for long.

Or as interviewee number 10, a Hamas leader, argued:

You cannot always consult with everyone, sometimes you have to decide by yourself and act upon it, I take full responsibility for such situations and if I am wrong I will pay the price for it. But there are other situations where you can work together with others, and sometimes in these circumstances we do not agree on the matter - and each one of us is trying to make an effort to convince the other that his opinion is the right one - and if my opinion does not get accepted I will have to respect it because after all democracy determines the outcome.

The data detailed previously suggests a tendency of Fatah leaders to be more favourable about an independent decision making process without consulting anyone, while the members of Hamas and even the Islamic Jihad affiliates were likely to prefer making decision with others, or at least when they are faced with difficult decisions see it as important to share the burden and responsibility with others. However, these findings contradict other sources who argue that religious groups tend to have a more tyrannical leadership, where the leader is superior religiously as well as directorially and is the only one to make decisions in the organisation. Hence these findings present significant new information on the conduct of secular leaders versus religious ones in prison that is different than the behaviour of these leaders outside of prison, and might shed some light on prison environment which for these behavioural changes to take place

Leadership within prison:



The interviewees referred to whether they thought it was harder to be a leader within prison or outside of it. Their answers were quite definite and there was no middle ground or uncertainty on the matter. The majority; ten out of eighteen interviewees thought it was much harder to lead inside prison, where there is no privacy, everyone knows everything and the leader's ability to function is very limited. Interviewee number 5, a Hamas leader explained:

It is a lot easier to lead outside, the prison is very complicated, it is like walking in a mine field, every prisoner thinks differently and you have to know what is going on in his head.

Or as interviewee number 18, a Fatah leader argued:

It is different to lead outside then inside the prison, where here it is a different war, it is all about how to get things. Outside they have weapons and they negotiate. I cannot walk around here with a gun and kill the block commander if there is something I do not like. Here it is different; we have to use common sense.

Eight of the interviewees thought it was a lot more difficult to be a leader outside of prison where the society is bigger and more diverse and the competition is much harsher. Interviewee number 15, a Fatah leader, describes it this way,

It is very different, it is a competition; it is not easy for anyone who is released from here and has to compete with the leadership outside. He has to be well known to the organisation and the people in it, and he has to have something unique that he has done something to be known by, so he will be recognised and he will have to go all the way with his decisions, he cannot make mistakes.

Or interviewee number 10, a Hamas leader who touched another point

Outside of prison it is much harder because the society is bigger and the struggles are harsher; you need to be more determined in your actions and you must influence a wider and a more diverse society.

The pattern which emerges from these two views is clear; seven out of the eight interviewees who argued that leadership outside of prison was harder were Fatah members and only one was affiliated with Hamas. On the other hand, the other four leaders of Hamas along with the other four Fatah members, the Islamic Jihad member, and the single unaffiliated interviewee, all argued that leadership inside prison was much more difficult than outside of prison. This might be explained by the fact that Fatah is the biggest and veteran organisation in prison and hence they may have felt more comfortable and influential within prison than the other organisations.

#### Leadership outside prison:

The last aspect of leadership that was covered by the interviewees was whether they would be interested in taking leadership positions outside the prison as well, if and when the opportunity arose. Most of the interviewees, eleven out of eighteen, declared that they would be keen on continuing their role as leaders outside prison upon their release if possible, due to their desire to continue influencing the conduct of the conflict and making some changes that would improve the difficult situations their society faced. As interviewee number 7, a Fatah leader, explained, “I think I am a person who is worth following, I can lead outside and I am planning on accomplishing it outside, that is for sure.” Or interviewee number 3, also a Fatah leader who said,

I would like to take part in the leadership outside prison, it is the most influential part in the movement which can balance the situation and deal with the occupation as well as with other actors in the area both internally and externally along with influencing the world’s public opinion.

Five of the interviewees expressed no interest in being leaders outside prison, seeing it as a hassle as well as a well-populated position that would not require their service. Furthermore they felt that they had given enough and would like to have time to invest in themselves and their families. This was evident from the words of interviewee number 4, a Fatah leader, who argued:

I do not want to be a leader outside, there are enough leaders there and many organisations, they do not need me for this. My family is more important to me and I would like to take care of them.

Or interviewee number 15, a Fatah leader as well, who claimed:

I do not want to be a leader outside, it is a headache; I will probably be old when I am released, I have no lack of money and there is probably no need for me to be a leader because there are enough leaders outside.

Only two leaders argued that they have no plans regarding what they would like to do upon their release; they said they had not thought it through and that they would decide when the time came. One of these leaders was a Hamas member and the other had no affiliation to any organisation. The other two groups showed a pattern in which among the five interviewees who declared no desire to be leaders outside prison, four were Fatah and one was the Hamas leader in the youth section. The other youth leader who was a Fatah member was also in this group and they both expressed a need to have their lives back, to go to the beach, or just to be home with their parents. The remaining interviewees in the other group covered seven Fatah members, three Hamas members, and the Islamic Jihad member; all of them were keen on continuing to be leaders upon their release. This indicates a tendency of the religious organisations to be more enthusiastic towards continuing their leadership role and activism in general in comparison with the Fatah leaders, who also expressed a willingness to disengage from this kind of activity, which once again points to the devotion and commitment these organisations associate with.

### **Charisma: yes or no?**

A key question for this research, and one which will be discussed below, is the question of charisma - whether the interviewees who play the role of leaders within terror organisations fit the description which appears in the literature, do they show charisma and strong overwhelming personality characteristics, or do they tend more to the transactional type of leader who functions more like a manager using professional means to develop his leadership and to move followers. The findings relating to this question are not based on the interviewees' self-perceptions, but rather on the analysis of other findings in this thesis as well the literature reviewed above. Javidan and Waldmans study, detailed previously<sup>520</sup>, found four main aspects common to all charismatic leaders: self-confidence, eloquence, high energy and determination, desire for change and risk taking. In this doctoral research project, the interviewees were found to possess most of the features applied by Javidan and Waldman to charismatic's leaders, as is detailed below:

1. Self-confidence: apart from one interviewee, all the interviewees were found to have medium to high self-esteem and confidence;<sup>521</sup>
2. Eloquence: most of the interviewees were found to be very verbal and highly articulate in their speech and in their conduct of communication;<sup>522</sup>
3. High energy and determination: this can be established from two aspects. The first relates to their personality characteristics of persuasiveness and ability to attain their desires. These were detailed in chapter 4 of this thesis, where most

---

<sup>520</sup> Javidan & Waldman (2003).

<sup>521</sup> See chapter 4 of this thesis, p.188-190

<sup>522</sup> See also chapter 4 of this thesis, p.190-191.

of the interviewees claimed they have the ability to persuade people to succumb to their wishes, and many of them declared that eventually they could attain anything they wanted.<sup>523</sup> The other aspect relating to their leadership role was detailed in this chapter - most of the interviewees described their desire to continue their leadership roles outside prison due to their determination to influence and bring about change<sup>524</sup>; and,

4. Desire for change and risk taking: the aspect of the interviewees desire to contribute to change was detailed above. Risk taking is the only trait that was not found among these interviewees, where only a very small minority of them were found to be adventurers and risk takers.<sup>525</sup>

Furthermore, the interviewees were found to meet the characteristics of transformational/revolutionary leaders through their extensive adoption of leadership principles regarding self-expectations of openness, reliability and self-responsibility, as well as their wish to promote justice, equality and change. However, they also appeared to have much in common with the transactional leadership type, by highlighting the need for prompt solutions to problems and their constant attempts to keep the balance and efficiency in their organisations.

These findings suggest that, as Bass and later Hoffman argued,<sup>526</sup> it is likely that leaders will acquire both symptoms of leadership to improve efficiency in the organisation. The interviewees in this research might be such types, though most of them were found to be very charismatic and compelling, they have to adjust to a

---

<sup>523</sup> See chapter 4 of this thesis, p.168-170.

<sup>524</sup> See this chapter, p.248-249.

<sup>525</sup> See chapter 4 of this thesis, p.177-179

<sup>526</sup> Bass (1985, p. 24); Hoffman (2004, p.14).

unique environment in prison in order to enhance efficiency and promote themselves as well as their organisations and their goals.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has focused exclusively on the role of leadership, an element that the interviewees in this study are heavily engaged in. The application was mostly on the self-perception of themselves as leaders, as well as how they perceived leadership in general. Notably, most of the findings suggest a distinct difference between the religious organisations i.e. Hamas and Islamic Jihad versus Fatah, the secular organisation. Though the numbers of Hamas and Islamic Jihad interviewees versus Fatah is not equal, i.e. six versus twelve, a distinct pattern can be acknowledged.

The leaders who were affiliated with Hamas, and the only Islamic Jihad member, were found to relate their main leadership principles mostly with religion, hence they expressed no flexibility in anything that contradicts religious demands, while everything else has to be subjugated to it, and all of them found this perfectly possible and essential. This aspect might be linked to another finding, which sees the vast majority of the leaders affiliated with the religious organisations as leaders who see the organisation's targets and subjectives as more important than the membership itself, who serve the cause and therefore are expected to sacrifice themselves for it if needed. Another finding that relates to their decision making process is that they seem to share their decisions with others and decide on different matters within the wider leadership of the organisation and not on their own. The majority of Fatah leaders expressed different views and preferred to work alone and make decisions by

themselves without consulting others. Furthermore they stated that since there can be no organisation without followers, and since they are the main reason for its existence, and developers of its goals and targets, they are more important.

Furthermore, the leaders affiliated with religious organisations also expressed more self-expectations as leaders, such as self-responsibility and reliability than the Fatah affiliates, who tended to express principles which were associated more with the role of leadership and its conduct such as equality, justice and the ability to solve difficult issues. As for leadership inside versus outside prison, religious leaders tended to find it more difficult to lead inside prison rather than outside, in contrast to Fatah leaders who argued the opposite - however, the majority of both types of leader were keen on continuing their leadership roles upon their release. Only in considering the aspect of leadership difficulties were no distinct patterns found - all organisations, relatively homogeneously were found to regard it as demanding and hard work, which involved dealing with difficult individuals and extensive self-sacrifices. The final aspect of leadership found by the analysis of the interviewees with the relevant literature showed these leaders as extremely charismatic who also possess sufficient transactional qualities.

These findings reveal the qualities of religious leadership in prison as hierarchical but yet very cooperative within the other leaders in the organisation. It gives a glance into Hamas leadership as very strict, yet organised and decent, in which they are seen as non-corrupted or disordered, quite like their image outside prison. However Fatah leaders were found to be less organised and tended to make decisions mainly alone,

without consultations with others. This also resembled the image of this organisation outside prison as corrupted and messy.<sup>527</sup>

---

<sup>527</sup>For information regarding these difference between the organisations see: Ayoob, M. (2004, p.7) Political Islam: Image and Reality. *World Policy Journal*. 21 (3), 1–14; Gunning, J. (2004, p.244) Peace with Hamas? The Transforming Potential of Political Participation. *International Affairs*. 80 (2), 233–255; Zweiri, M. (2006) The Hamas Victory: Shifting Sands or Major Earthquake? *Third World Quarterly*. 27 (4), 675–687.



## **Chapter 7: Results- Imprisonment**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will deal with the influence of prison on the leaders' lives, attitudes and future behaviour, as well as on the process they go through while they are incarcerated. The focus on that process is whether it makes them more radical in their beliefs and conduct or whether it is the other way around and they are de-radicalised over the course of time spent in prison and hence abandon their extreme ways and behaviour.

As detailed in the introduction to this thesis, criminology theories highlight the process that a prisoner goes through while in prison as a very traumatic and painful one, with the prisoner losing his total freedom along with his identity and personal safety.<sup>528</sup> The factors discussed in this chapter will emphasise the different processes that the prisoners who participated in this research have gone through, while in prison, when they showed almost no signs of 'pains of imprisonment' such as desperation, loss of vitality or loss of self. Moreover these prisoners show a remarkable adjustment to prison at the very first stages of their incarceration, being active in daily life, taking on leadership roles and using their time effectively for gaining education and self-development.

Consequently, as will be elucidated in this chapter through the analysis of the interviews as well as other resources such as their personal files and prison personnel

---

<sup>528</sup> For more information see chapter 1- Introduction to this thesis, p.95-100.

statements, this process leads these prisoners to feel empowered rather than hopeless and despairing. Furthermore, it seems that the source of this unique mechanism of behaviour and attitude relies on the Palestinian as well as the Arab cultural perception of a prisoner in Israeli jails as honourable and admirable, being at the frontline of the struggle and as the metaphor for the Palestinian situation. For the prisoners themselves, this position of status allow them opportunities for self-improvement as well as an improvement of conditions for their families.<sup>529</sup>

Finally, this chapter will also elaborate on whether this process of empowerment and self-development along with other factors related to incarceration leads to the prisoner's radicalisation or de-radicalisation from their extreme acts and beliefs. Different examples of de-radicalisation processes occurring around the world will be examined in order to find similarities and differences related to the Israeli case. While the analysis of the information reveals a unique process of de-radicalisation for most of these prisoners; this depends on factors such as the length of time in prison, the acquirement of education and involvement in leadership roles during incarceration.

### **Findings of this research:**

#### **Pains of imprisonment?**

---

<sup>529</sup> For information regarding the attitude towards prisoners in the Palestinian society: Bornstein, A. (2001, p. 559) *Ethnography and the Politics of Prisoners in Palestine-Israel. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 30 (5), 546 –574; Nashif, E. (2008, p.96) *Palestinian Political Prisoners: Identity and Community*. Taylor & Francis; as well as Marcus, I. & Zilberdik, N. J. (2011) *Abbas Glorifies Terrorist Prisoners*. Available from: [http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc\\_id=5794](http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc_id=5794); PMW (2012) *Shahada (Death for Allah) promotion*. Available from: <http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=110> (Accessed 14 April 2012).

Planning for the future:

When I entered prison I asked a veteran prisoner, who was already in prison for 25 years, how he sees the future, and he answered me that there is no prisoner who does not plan his future and think of it every day. If a prisoner is convinced in what he has done and what he is still doing than he will always look forward, knowing that justice has to be done and that what is holding him together and gives him strength.... When I look at myself and my future, sometimes I am worried but mostly I see a light at the end of the tunnel. (Interviewee number 2).

These are the words of a senior Hamas leader who was charged with a murder and terrorist acts and was sentenced to life imprisonment. His words reflect the thoughts of the majority of the terrorist leaders interviewed in this research in terms of anticipating their imminent release and hence planning their future carefully as well as feeling strong optimism towards it. In contrast to criminal prisoners,<sup>530</sup> these prisoners entered prison with a sense of righteousness, belief in their acts as well as their immediate honourable release.<sup>531</sup> Interestingly, interviewee number 2 was indeed released only recently as part of the Gilad Shalit deal mentioned earlier in this chapter, and that shows an ironic support to the prisoners' hopeful point of view that even though they are convicted for life they will be free in the near future.

One more example to validate this argument can be seen from the words of interviewee number 5, who is a Hamas leader as well, who is sentenced to life. He declares:

---

<sup>530</sup> See chapter 1- Introduction to this thesis, p.95-100.

<sup>531</sup> See also Qouta, S. et al. (1997, p.25). Prison Experiences and Coping Styles among Palestinian Men. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. 3. 19–36; Shaked (2008, p. 26). (In Hebrew)

I am not interested in looking back, only to the future. I want to plan my future carefully. I am working on it with my wife and believe there is a great chance that I will be released.

This prisoner has also been released following the Gilad Shalit deal.<sup>532</sup>

#### Support from the outside:

Another aspect that contributes greatly to these prisoners' adjustment to imprisonment is the support and care they receive from sources outside of prison. As an intelligence officer in the IPS- Israeli Prison Service, his name here will be H, details:

The security prisoners are definitely going through a different process than criminal prisoners when they enter prisons for the first time, and there are a few reasons for that. First, most of these prisoners have relatives in prison or relatives that were prisoners before. Secondly, these prisoners know that they have a strong support and appreciation from their communities outside. Thirdly, they have no financial stress because their family is being taken care of financially by the Palestinian authority, which also deposits money to cover their needs in prison. Fourthly, inside prison, the veteran prisoners are taking them under their shelter, guiding them through their first time in prison so they feel confident and reassured. They also teach them everything they need to know in prison and further other education studies as well such as their final exams in high school. The last factor that affects this process of adjustment is the codes and order of the organisation, which the prisoner has to accept, act by and memorise. This gives him a stable and organised structure that also affirms his sense of confidence and reassurance.<sup>533</sup>

---

<sup>532</sup> Ibid.

<sup>533</sup> H, intelligent officer (August, 2009). A conversation held by the researcher with an intelligence officer who is in charge of one of the biggest sections of security prisoners in the Israeli prisons. He asked to stay anonymous due to his yet intensive work with these prisoners and therefore he will be consider here as H; for more information: Rosenfeld (2011, 3-21); Post, et al. (2003); Nashif (2008, p.32-37).

The majority of interviewees in this research were well aware of the support and respect that they receive from their social surroundings outside of prison. Most of them declared their families to be very close and supportive and thus giving them strength, whether they are married and have children or are single and relying on their parents and siblings to be there for them. However the majority of them prefer to ignore the pain that their acts can cause their families, and to instead place emphasis on the needs of their wider society, which is indeed admiring of them for their acts.

As can be seen from the words of interviewee number 13:

We are ten people in the family, eight siblings and my parents. The relations in the family were always very good and we are very close, but I have one brother who died in prison, he was also my best friend, I still cannot believe he is dead. Another brother of mine is here in prison with me and the rest are at home, studying or working. My dad wanted me to do other things, even though he was a Fatah member but 40 years ago, he tells me to be careful to take care... They love me a lot, it was very hard for them when I went to prison but my mum is happy that at least she can see me and talk to me.

This interviewee is a Fatah member who was convicted of murders and different terrorist acts for which he was sentenced to life in prison. Throughout his interview he describes the care and love he shares with his family but yet whenever he has needed to choose between them and his activities in the organisation, as far as he was concerned there was no question as to the right thing to do.

This pattern is quite consistent with most interviewees as can be seen in another example of interviewee number 15, a Fatah member who was sentenced to life for a murder and further terrorist acts he had committed:

We are eight siblings in the family, I'm the youngest one. The situation in the family was very good, they gave me everything I wanted and the

relationships in the family were very good. We lived together in the same place and no one was related to the organisations, it was spontaneous for me to join the organisation and to get involved, it is attractive, there is an occupation, bad things are being done to us, you see the blood on TV and you want to do something... My family did not know about it but they have felt it and tried to warn me. It is difficult for them to see what is happening to our people but they still do not want me to get hurt or die... When I was arrested it was very hard, my mum was following me to the car crying, she could not believe I was being arrested. At the first visit she asked me- Why have I done that? And that I had everything I wanted. And I have told her that I just had to do it.

Correspondingly, as H detailed previously and G,<sup>534</sup> a senior intelligence officer adds:

While in prison these prisoners are being exposed to a greater extent to the support of the organisations during their incarceration in prison and furthermore they learn to acknowledge the confidence and certainty of their future as well, knowing they will be taken care of upon their release. Additionally, they also experience strongly the admiration and appreciation from their wider society as well as the whole Arab community. They have just been honoured with a new, highly respectful status within their community and this high position is definitely a place of empowerment.

Al-Qaeda is also known for its great support for its incarcerated members in prisons and furthermore the network strategy of the organisation allows the prisoners some reassurance as to their opportunities upon their release.<sup>535</sup> In an interview on the fourth anniversary of 9/11 Ayman al-Zawahiri, one of Al-Qaeda main leaders, stated:

I take this opportunity to address our prisoners. We have not forgotten you. We are still committed to the debt of your salvation . . . We will continue to attack the US until we shatter your shackles.<sup>536</sup>

<sup>534</sup> G, senior intelligence officer (November, 2009), A conversation held by the researcher, with an intelligence officer who is in charge of one of the biggest areas of prisons in Israel where a large amount of security prisoners, mostly very extremist, are held. He asked to stay anonymous due to his yet intensive work with these prisoners and therefore he will be considered here as G.

<sup>535</sup> For information regarding Al-Qaeda network strategy: Mishal, S. & Rosenthal, M. (2005, p.276-280) Al Qaeda as a Dune Organization: Toward a Typology of Islamic Terrorist Organizations. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 28 (4), 275–293.

Memri TV (2004) *Al-Qaeda Leader Ayman Al-Zawahiri's Interview to Al-Sahab (Part IV)*. 7 December. Available from: <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/0/0/0/0/0/957.htm>. For more

Interviewee number 18, who is sentenced to life in prison due to a murder and belonging to a terrorist group, explains it accurately:

I have no specific plans for when I will be released, I have not thought about it yet, I do not know if I will be released anytime soon but whenever I will be released I know that whatever I will ask for I will receive. I have a reputation outside and whatever I will want I will get, just like any other leader here in prison.

This interviewee has also been released lately in the Gilad Shalit deal, however there are still no details regarding her activities since then.

Another external factor that influences the prisoners' adjustment to imprisonment relates to Palestinian/ Arab culture in which wide and influential families are well appreciated in their areas and gain a lot of respect and honour.<sup>537</sup> Gabay,<sup>538</sup> a former head of intelligence to the IPS, asserts that coming from a well-known and respected family plays a significant role and considerably improves the quick adjustment of the prisoners to their new condition, due to the fact that the rest of the prisoners are more keen to help them in their adjustment and in being related to them in any way possible. Furthermore, the intelligence department in prison is very aware of the importance of family reputations and hence has to be careful while situating the prisoners, where there might be rivalry between different families and regions, or conversely close connections with each other that may cause a security risk.

---

information: Vogt, E. (2008) *Terrorists in Prisons: The Challenge Facing Corrections*. Available from: [http://www.icpa.ca/tools/download/622/Terrorists\\_in\\_Prison.pdf](http://www.icpa.ca/tools/download/622/Terrorists_in_Prison.pdf).

<sup>537</sup> For information relate to the Arab family and its importance see introduction of this thesis p. 46-51.

<sup>538</sup> Itsik Gabay (November 2011), a phone call conversation conducted by the researcher with Major General Gabay right after the release of Gilad Shalit in November. Gabay was the head of Intelligence of the IPS between the years 1999-2004 and later become the north district IPS head officer.

Indeed, probably mainly due to the characteristics of this research that deals with the leaders of security prisoners in prisons, a large portion of them come from quite well known families in their areas. Most of the interviewees reported being treated with more respect and given more help from fellow prisoners on their entrance to prison, which assisted greatly in their adjustment process. As interviewee number 7 details:

I come from a well-known strong and 'clean' family; 'clean' means that all my family love the country and we never had any collaborators (meaning with Israel) in the family and our girls do not speak to guys... we are well known for being clean, here and in the outside and therefore everyone respects our family.

This interviewee is a leader of the Fatah, and is well known in his area for his family relations and activities in the organisation. He is sentenced to life for leading various terrorist acts, killing more than a dozen Israelis, and is known to be very dominant in the organisation.

#### Support from fellow prisoners and organisations inside prison

As for the internal support inside prison, Lt. General Adato,<sup>539</sup> a former commissioner of the IPS- Israeli Prison Service explains:

For a security prisoner, entering prison is a further continuation of his life on the outside, where he has the same conduct and organisational structure as in prison, while additionally in prison they have the ability to develop themselves from different aspects- personally and professionally as well. They enter in to a very strong group which gives them structure and support, teaches them everything they need to know about their incarceration, the organisation as well as other forms of knowledge they were interested in participating whether academic or vocational.

---

<sup>539</sup> Adato, O. (October, 2011); A former commissioner of the IPS- Israeli prison service, between the years 2000-2003 and the first International Vice President of the International Correction & Prison Association (ICPA). The researcher had a conversation with Lt. General Adato at an international conference and launching of the global forum for counter radicalisation held in Paris.



Some interviewees in this research had not even finished high school upon their incarceration, but have done so during their time in prison, while others have acquired higher academic degrees. Moreover some prisoners even testify to not knowing anything about the organisations prior to their arrest or to the history of the conflict or the important processes related to it, and only in prison have they learnt to understand the meaning and goals of their actions. As interviewee number 1 explains:

I did the (terrorist) act out of childish behaviour - I was not related to any organisation before my incarceration and only when I entered prison I joined the Fatah and learned everything. My family was very surprised because no one in my family is an active member of any organisation. After I joined the Fatah and learned about it I taught my family as well. In prison I learned that you can never say no to studies. I learned a lot in prison, mostly from books and further from discussions and meetings we have with fellow prisoners.

This prisoner was sentenced to more than ten years in prison for committing terrorist acts; however, it is his third incarceration having spent more than twenty years in prison so far in total.

### Education

In her research Rosenfeld acknowledges that “it is rare to meet a former prisoner from Dheisheh<sup>540</sup> (a Palestinian refugee camp located just south of Bethlehem in the West Bank) who is not proud of his “prison studies.” Furthermore, she details that most of the prisoners interviewed in her research testify that whenever it was possible they would have spent eight and up to fourteen hours every day studying, whether

---

<sup>540</sup> For information about Dheisheh: Unrwa (2012) *UNRWA-Dheisheh Refugee Camp*. Available from: <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=113> (Accessed 28 February 2012).

theoretical literature such as history and politics, fiction, or other areas of self-interest.<sup>541</sup> Nashif's book, which deals mainly with the building of the Palestinian prisoners' community through prisoners' writings, also emphasises the importance of education and studies to this developed community and according to Nashif's research, the effect of this experience is frequently manifest in the writings of the prisoners.<sup>542</sup> As examples of such writings Nashif mentions Abid al Satar Qasim who, along with some of his students, (most of them former prisoners) published a historical study on the Palestinian political prisoners,<sup>543</sup> as well as Hasan Abdallah, who was in and out of prisons for years and wrote two books and other varied sources on the issue of political captivity.<sup>544</sup> Another example of such initiative is Abu al Haj, who founded the centre for the political captive movement while his main activity was a published collection of the life stories of political captives.<sup>545</sup> Shaked,<sup>546</sup> detailed other examples such as: Karim Yunis, an Arab Israeli who murdered an Israeli soldier and wrote his book in prison named 'the ideological struggle and settling a dispute', where he advocated the recognition of the state of Israel and the fight for the solution of two countries to two people.

All these examples of activism in relation to education and writing emphasise the importance of these aspects to the development of the prisoners. They therefore support the findings of this research as to the significant progress that prisoners go

---

<sup>541</sup> Rosenfeld (2005, p. 252-253).

<sup>542</sup> Nashif (2008, p.72).

<sup>543</sup> Ibid. The reference for this material is: Qasim, A. (and his students) (1986). *Introduction to the Political Imprisonment Experience in the Zionist prisons*. Beirut: Al Umah House Press. (in Arabic).

<sup>544</sup> Ibid (p. 73). The references for these materials are: Abdallah, H. (1994) *The Literary Production of Political Imprisonment: A Historical Analytical Study*. Jerusalem: Al Zahra Research Centre; Abdallah, H. (1996) *A Journalism that Challenged the Chain*. Ramallah: Al Mashriq Research Centre.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid. The reference for this material is: Abu al Haj, F. (1992) *The knights of the Intifada Talking from Behind the Bars*. Jerusalem: Jamyat al Dirast al Arabieh.

<sup>546</sup> Shaked (2008, p. 28-29). (In Hebrew)

through while incarcerated, which influences their attitudes as well as the radicalisation or de-radicalisation outcomes.

Moreover, apart from the support of acquiring knowledge related to the organisations, the history and development of the conflict as well as the conduct and behaviour in prison, detailed in the last section, the security prisoners also gain general education, whether completing high school or higher academic degrees. As Adato<sup>547</sup> further details:

The time they spend in prison allows them to study different kinds of academic and other studies they are interested in. Though the prison management limits the acceptable topics they can explore to subjects which cannot be considered a security threat such as physics, chemistry and the like, they are quite keen to study topics related to Israeli and Jewish society as a means of knowing the enemy better; its weaknesses and ways to take advantage of it. The pragmatic leaders in particular are eager to enrich their knowledge by studying and to develop themselves in order to further expand their understanding of the enemy and to improve their conduct and leadership abilities in prison and later on in the outside.

Indeed, according to data held by the IPS (Israeli Prison System),<sup>548</sup> the security prisoner is entitled to study independently any subject he wishes to in accordance with the security limitations. Most of the prisoners are studying for the final high school Palestinian exams called the ‘Tawjiya’ and many of them are doing higher education studies via the Open University and achieving academic degrees. However, the ability of these prisoners to attain education and academic degrees is quite controversial within Israeli society, where many think that they should not gain any benefits from

---

<sup>547</sup> Adato (October, 2011).

<sup>548</sup> Virtser, A. (2005, p.12) *Security Prisoners Incarcerated in the Israeli Prison System*. Available from: <http://www.ips.gov.il/NR/rdonlyres/64FFF90C-4D22-43EE-A87B-7318EAE7048D/0/bitcnoneemnet.pdf>. (In Hebrew); Shaked (2008, p.27); Ben-Tsur, D. (2007) Political Conflict Confronted through Prison Education: A Case Study of Israeli Teachers Working with Palestinian Prisoners. *Journal of Correctional Education*. 58 (2), 108–128.

their incarceration as a punishment for their appalling acts. Recently following the aforementioned Gilad Shalit prisoner exchange deal, there was fervent public demand for changing the law to prohibit this 'privilege' of prisoners convicted of terrorist activities.<sup>549</sup>

This was emphasised by interviewee number 3, who said:

After all the difficulties, I finished here in prison my degree in political science and international relations. I knew my family wanted to see me educated so when I received the diploma I gave it to my mum two weeks ago. It is an immense achievement to my family and a big step for me. I am planning on continuing to do a Master's and a Doctorate specialising in the media and diplomacy. I will have the title doctor in front of my name; I can make a difference and do important things.

This interviewee is a leader of Fatah; it is his first incarceration after being sentenced for years in prison on charges of committing various severe terrorist acts. He entered prison before finishing high school and developed himself in prison, to achieve his first degree and is determined to continue further in higher education.

These aspects corroborate with the factors discussed previously, which suggest that prisoners imagine a hopeful future and will plan ahead, receiving massive support from their social surroundings as well as the organisations and their culture in general, gaining support and guidance from their fellow prisoners, and widening their horizons by further education. This is an altogether different and more intense process than the

---

<sup>549</sup> Ataeli, A. & Bander, A. (2011) The Families' Victims are Furious- the Security Prisoners' Conditions is Outrages. *Maariv*. 15 June. Available from: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/250/510.html> (In Hebrew); Bander, A. (2010) The Ministers Committee Certify Worsening the Conditions of Hamas Prisoners. *Maariv*. 25 May. Available from: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/109/846.html>. (In Hebrew); Vaysman, L. (2009) The Government Decided: Worsening the Conditions of Security Prisoners in Israel. *Globes*. 29 March. Available from: <http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000438687>. (In Hebrew)

usual process that an ‘ordinary’ criminal prisoner goes through.<sup>550</sup> Though none of them declare incarceration to be easy and enjoyable, the security prisoners interviewed do not show signs of ‘pain of imprisonment’,<sup>551</sup> and the research suggests that entering prison for the first time was relatively easy for them. Most of them have adjusted well to their circumstances and are even using it to develop themselves in the best way they can.

The second aspect of the prison element is the radicalisation or de-radicalisation processes they are going through while they incarcerated.

### **Radicalisation or de-radicalisation in Israeli Prisons**

As aforementioned,<sup>552</sup> the context in which de-radicalisation can occur is quite different from one place to another. The Israeli case is quite unique in the sense that the government cannot initiate any programmes of rehabilitation or de-radicalisation to apply to the prisoners, unlike in the examples detailed previously of Saudi Arabia, Singapore or Yemen. This is due to the fact that the majority of these prisoners do not even recognise Israel’s existence and therefore will never cooperate with such initiatives. This attitude can be verified by a significant document written, in 2006, by the leaders of the main terrorist organisation in Israeli prisons, called ‘the prisoners’ document’, which was aimed at forming a reconciliation between Hamas and Fatah based on eighteen principles that both organisations should agree upon. Even though there was no acknowledgment of Israel’s right to exist, the document was eventually

---

<sup>550</sup> For more information regarding the process a criminal prisoner is going through while entering prison see chapter 1- Introduction to this thesis, p. 95-100.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid.

<sup>552</sup> See introduction to this thesis p.106-108

accepted by all parties.<sup>553</sup> Accordingly, initiatives of de-radicalisation such as those occurring in Egypt and Algeria within the organisations themselves are not happening in Israel. As can be elaborated by this statement:

The security prisoners in Israeli prisons are not going through any process of de-radicalisation and their leaders are doing everything in their power so the inmates will avoid such opportunities which might confuse them and further open their mind toward critical thinking relating to their acts and beliefs. They do not agree with any social workers or treatments from the prison authority and the reason is that they are afraid that the prisoner will get involved with the Israeli prison staff and will form some friendly communication that will make him rethink his extreme thoughts and behaviour. Hence, they appoint a spokesman who will be the only one to communicate with the prison authority from the very same reason, as well as limit the prisoners' daily life activities such as watching television programs that can have the same effect on them. Correspondingly, the studies they are undertaking are only for the reason of knowing the enemy better and in the interest of improving themselves as better soldiers and leaders who will promote the movement agenda and further activism.<sup>554</sup>

These are the words of Major General Gabay a former head of intelligence at the Israeli Prison Service (IPS), who does not see any evidence of de-radicalisation among these prisoners. In his statement he addresses the pressure and the strong influence of the social surrounding and leadership outside prison that demands these prisoners keep on fighting for their cause and idealises them at the forefront of their battle.

---

<sup>553</sup> Mideastweb (2006) *Full Text of the Palestinian Prisoner's National Conciliation Document*. Available from: [http://www.mideastweb.org/prisoners\\_letter.htm](http://www.mideastweb.org/prisoners_letter.htm) (Accessed 24 February 2012). For some analysis of the document by Israeli ministry of foreign affairs see: Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006) *Palestinian 'Prisoners' Document': Stepping away from Peace*. 29 June. Available from:

<http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/About+the+Ministry/Behind+the+Headlines/Palestinian+Prisoners+Document+-+Stepping+away+from+peace+29-Jun-2006.htm> (Accessed 24 February 2012).

<sup>554</sup> Gabay (November 2011).

However, according to the findings of this research, it seems that some of the variables that influence the de-radicalisation processes in those countries have some effects on the security prisoners in Israeli prisons as well. Such variables, which will be analysed further, are: the acquirement of education, the acquirement of leadership roles and hence communication with the ‘others’, and the length of time spent in prison.

### Acquiring education

As detailed previously, gaining education in prison is a very high priority for the ‘security prisoners’ in Israeli prisons and has a major effect on the process they are going through in prison and in easing their adjustment to imprisonment. However, gaining education, especially higher education, while in prison also has a significant influence on the process of de-radicalisation or as Adato<sup>555</sup> terms it ‘pragmatism’. The prisoners deliberately choose topics that relate to Israeli society, history and culture for strategic reasons, but by learning these topics they inadvertently open their minds to a better understanding of Israeli society, which allows them to become more pragmatic towards the conflict and its conduct.

In terms of the educational status of the eighteen interviewees in this research, only two did not finish high school, while two others are still minors and thus could not finish high school yet. Of the other fourteen interviewees, seven did finish high school, three of them while in prison, but did not continue their studies to higher education, although three of them were keen on doing so in prison but were refused

---

<sup>555</sup> Adato (October, 2011).

by the IPS. Seven other interviewees have gained degrees - most at undergraduate level and two have gained a Master's degree, four of these seven acquired their degrees while serving their time in prison.

Higher education, according to Barnett,<sup>556</sup> allows students to engage with different views and phenomena and give their own explanation and reasoning for occurrences. Moreover the journey in pursuing these rationalisations has practical implications, such as providing legitimacy to thoughts and actions and thus a sense of security; enlightened observations that were hidden before which allows a transformation of perceptions and conduct related to daily life experiences and furthermore provides the freedom to expose new possibilities for thoughts and actions. Furthermore, education leads people to be more aware and concerned for their environment, for example, studies shows that more educated people vote then uneducated ones and as such social involvement can relate to terrorism activists as well.<sup>557</sup>

Studies related to education in prison argue that the recidivism rate for criminal prisoners who participated in educational programmes while in prison is significantly lower than the one of their fellow inmates who did not use the opportunity to gain education during their incarceration.<sup>558</sup> In the case of terrorist prisoners, there is not much research or data as to how many prisoners undertake educational programmes and it is probably quite different in each country. In the UK, for example, during years

---

<sup>556</sup> Barnett (1990, p.110-119).

<sup>557</sup> Useem, B. & Clayton, O. (2009, p.57), Research on US radicalization in prisons. *Criminology & Public Policy*. 8 (3), 561–592; See also Krueger, A. B. (2008) *What Makes a Homegrown Terrorist? Human Capital and Participation in Domestic Islamic Terrorist Groups in the U.S.A.* Available from: <http://dataspace.princeton.edu/jspui/handle/88435/dsp012f75r8023> (Accessed 25 February 2012).

<sup>558</sup> Steurer, S. J. et al. (2001) *Three State Recidivism Study*. Available from: <http://www.acea.org.au/Content/2001%20papers/Dr%20Steve%20Steurer%20-%20Paper.PDF>; Gaes, G. G. (2008) *The Impact of Prison Education Programs on Post-Release Outcomes*, in 1 April 2008 John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York City: p. 32. Available from: <http://www.jjay.cuny.edu/GaesTheEffectivenessofPrisonEducationPrograms.pdf>.



of incarceration of IRA members, it has been found that until the year 2000, only five percent of these prisoners studied for higher education via the Open University, and most of them relied on these degrees to help them find a proper job upon their release.<sup>559</sup> In his study regarding education of IRA prisoners in Northern Ireland, Irwin argued it

... has been credited with transforming young angry men, ruthless in their conviction that military actions was the only way forward, in to astute political thinkers, responsible for the leadership and strategy of some of northern Ireland's leading political parties and political organisations.<sup>560</sup>

Other studies relating to education and terrorist prisoners' focuses mainly on their education achievements prior to incarceration and the main finding reveals that the majority of these terrorists are educated people. Examples for such studies are Sageman's<sup>561</sup> research on 132 incarcerated terrorists worldwide that found that over sixty percent of them had some higher education or Krueger and Maleckova's study which found that among Hizballa terrorists the majority hold some higher education as well.<sup>562</sup> The findings of these studies implies that higher education might contribute to extreme ideas and activism, however, as can be seen from Irwin's study as well as the present one, gaining education while in prison might have some different outcomes due to other aspects involved such as the distance from the organisation and stressful atmosphere outside prison as well as the daily contact with the 'others'.

---

<sup>559</sup> McHardy, A. (2000) *Terrorist Study Cells*. Available from:

<http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=149558&sectioncode=26>.

<sup>560</sup> Irwin, T. (2003, p.473) Prison Education in Northern Ireland: Learning from our Paramilitary Past. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*. 42 (5), 471–484.

<sup>561</sup> Segamen, M. (2004) *Understanding Terror Networks*. University of Pennsylvania Press.

<sup>562</sup> Krueger, A. B. & Maleckova, J. (2003) Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 17 (4), 119–144.

Whereas the vast majority of the interviewees in this research hold at least a high school education, a large portion of them acquired these degrees and diplomas while in prison. Similarly, there are no studies regarding this issue in Israeli prisons,<sup>563</sup> yet the data available shows that 200 out of nearly 6000 prisoners are studying for higher degrees in prison via the Open University, while the majority of the other prisoners are studying for their high school diploma. However, in the last few years due to political reasons as a means to put pressure on the organisations to release the captured soldier Gilad Shalit, there has been a ban on acquiring any kind of education in prison except other means such as family visits and the ability to watch television.<sup>564</sup>

Nevertheless, all the interviewees stressed the importance of these studies, whether academic or general ones, and the massive impact it has on their perceptions and conduct relating to every aspect of their lives, mainly the aspect of the Israeli Palestinian/Arab conflict and their role in it. Moreover, most of them, especially the ones who did their studies while in prison, testify that these studies opened their minds towards understanding the conflict better and the Israeli society's motives and conduct in particular. To some extent this has even led to a change in their attitude towards their methods and past behaviour, towards a more pragmatic approach of dialogue and open-mindedness.

As interviewee number five explained:

---

<sup>563</sup> Ben-Tsur (2007, p.108-109).

<sup>564</sup> See: Lis, J. et al. (2011) Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu, delayed for a year the legislation of worsening the conditions of security prisoners. *Ha'aretz*. 26 June. Available from: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/1.1178361> (Accessed 25 February 2012). (In Hebrew)

Since I entered prison I think before I decide, I count to ten and only then act - it was not like that before I entered prison. In prison we learn a lot from the Jews and also from the Open University - it changed me, - I learn a lot about Israeli society and its history. In prison we live in a democracy, we always consult with each other. Outside I was not familiar with the concept of democracy and could not relate it to Islam. After I entered prison and started my studies I understood that it does not collide- I can say whatever I think and even fight for my opinion but also understand when my opinion is not accepted. For example if we have problems with the management and we want to settle them, we will check with the other organisations and we will vote, and according to its result we will decide on the actions that we might take.

This interviewee is a senior Hamas leader who has been convicted of murder and other violent acts and has been sentenced to life. He is currently studying for his first degree at the Open University in prison.

#### Taking leadership roles- Communication with the 'others'

Prisons can also be places that allow communication with other groups and individuals, who normally do not have the opportunity or will to interact with each other. As was mentioned previously by Ashour, in relation to the Algerian and Egyptian experience of de-radicalisation, such communication can open up minds and thoughts towards issues that were quite limited before. In the Israeli prisons the 'security prisoners' are not allowed by their leadership to individually approach the guards and the prison authority and hence only by taking leadership roles is this option possible; therefore it has become one of the influential elements of this process of de-radicalisation. Indeed, the leaders in prison have constant communication with the prison authority on matters of the prisoners' needs as well as political and social decisions that have to be taken. Therefore they all declare that they underwent

changes in their perceptions since becoming leaders and learned to get to know the Israelis with whom they had to work better, which was not even an option before.

This is expressed by a statement of interviewee number twelve:

When I entered prison for the first time, I could not understand how the prisoners were communicating and cooperating with the guards - I could not understand it at all - but now I understand that it is different here, that this is a different battlefield and there are different rules and different conduct. Whoever enters prison goes through a positive change and become more moderate. Leaders that are released from prison are more pragmatic because they know that there is also another side, that not everything is black and white. In prison a leader deals constantly with compromises and many times he has to put himself in the place of the other side to be able to solve the matter. For example prisoners want to be in the yard even when it rains so they ask for a shed but it is a security problem for the IPS to allow it because the shed can cover the prisoners and the guards would not be able to see them, so I suggested that they construct a transparent shed and that way everyone is happy.

This prisoner is the veteran interviewee in this research; he was sentenced to life for the murder of Israeli civilians and by the time of the interview he had already been in prison for almost thirty years. He was released five years ago in one of the bargains Israel made. To date there have been no reports of him engaging in further terrorist activity.

#### Length of time spent in prison

Another important aspect that was found in this study to be significant to the process the prisoners are going through while in prison is the length of time they spend there.

Adato<sup>565</sup> explains that due to the long length of time Fatah prisoners spend in prisons along with their basic nationalistic ideology, in comparison to Hamas, which is a religious movement and further only entered the scene in the last two decades, assumptions relating to their conduct in prison is premature.<sup>566</sup> Accordingly, it is possible to assert that the Fatah leaders have gone through a process of learning and comprehension of the fact that the violent way is not efficient and will not help them in gaining their goals.<sup>567</sup> Furthermore, Adato adds that:

The main difference between security prisoners and criminal ones is that unlike criminals, these prisoners, as a result of their terrorist activities, had been considered as ‘wanted’ by the Israeli security forces and so had been under a constant threat to their lives as well as massive pressure from the organisations, their families and their social surroundings. In prison they have no such pressure, most of their needs are taken care of and they have time to invest in their own development.<sup>568</sup>

Similarly, in his research on the disengagement process of individuals and groups within extremist organisations in Northern Ireland, Ferguson highlights the importance of prisons for counter terrorism strategies as well as for both radicalisation and disengagement from such violent activities. According to members and former members of such organisations, who were interviewed in Ferguson’s research, prison provides a space to improve strategic and ideological understanding as well as new thoughts related to nonviolent options to achieve political goals. Furthermore these prisoners emphasise that these insights could not be developed if they were outside of

---

<sup>565</sup> Adato (October 2011).

<sup>566</sup> Information about the Fatah and Hamas and the difference between them see chapter 1- introduction to this thesis, p.19-29.

<sup>567</sup> Adato (October 2011).

<sup>568</sup> Ibid.

prison, in the battlefield; only in prison can they debate these issues and have a proper discussion on the matter resulting in more logical and pragmatic solutions.<sup>569</sup>

Most of the interviewees in this research at the time of the interviews had already served more than ten years in prison while the vast majority of them were sentenced to, at least, a life sentence in prison. Based on the analysis of the interviews, records and documents such as their personal files supplied to the researcher by the IPS, as well as prison staff reports; it appears that these prisoners are going through a unique process. Upon entering prison and for the first few years, they are radical in their views, hostile and angry towards the prison and Israeli authorities and society in general and hence they do everything they can to enhance their knowledge and practices relating to the organisations and the extremist agenda and conduct, to the extent that they become quite educated in all that is related to it. After this initial period of time and upon reaching the peak of their knowledge and proficiency, they feel confident enough to search for general knowledge, to open their minds to options that they had little exposure to before. In addition, the routine in prison is comfortable and relaxed so they are able to think more clearly and rationally and they become much more pragmatic towards the conflict and the practical ways to deal with it.

This is a slow process, which is most likely to occur along with the fulfilment of the other elements of gaining higher education and taking leadership roles. It can take at least eight to ten years, whereas the first hostile phase is about four to five years and then another four to five years for the 'open minded' phase of pragmatic thinking.

---

<sup>569</sup> Ferguson (2011, p.112-114); for more information see: Garfinkel, R. (2007) *Personal Transformations: Moving from Violence to Peace*. Available from: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA472142&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>.

However, for many of the leaders in prison it might take even more time than that, depending on whether the other elements detailed previously are partially implemented or not at all, or whether the organisations to which they belong are more radical in their agenda or are more religious ones, which might be more limited in their views and abilities to compromise.

As interviewee number 15 expresses in his words:

I was not politically attuned; I did not have a solid political stance that will guide me to what is right or wrong and how to do things or not to do them at all. That has all changed since I entered prison where I had time to think and find my political way. Outside its different, the leaders are playing a game which is different than what we want, there is a rivalry between people at the organisation and among the organisations and the people in general and it does not help our cause. Everyone believes in a different way and there is no cooperation. In prison it is different; there is an understanding between the people and the organisations as well, we do have different opinions but we debate and discuss the options and then decide together. I was twenty one when I entered prison, I was young and hot blooded, and did things without thinking them through. That was the hardest lesson I have learned here, today I have changed, I am more confident and have the strength to act accordingly.

This interviewee was sentenced to life in prison for a murder he committed and other terrorist acts. He had a history of holding radical views and extremist behaviour during his first twelve years in prison, but this pattern has changed since then and in the last three years prior to the interview with him the records indicate a more moderate prisoner and a pragmatic leader. The longer period of time that it has taken him to go through the process of de-radicalisation may be linked to the fact that he only started his involvement in higher education later in his incarceration which he did not complete to the day of the interview. Furthermore as a leader he refused to

cooperate with the prison authority and began to do so only in the last three years of his confinement.

Another important aspect of the length of time the leaders spend in prison relates to their perceptions towards the sacrifice they made. The vast majority of them, which as previously detailed have been imprisoned for more than ten years, feel as though they have sacrificed enough and hence earned the privilege to think of themselves from this point on and to let others continue what they have started. Only eight out of the eighteen interviewees state that they will continue their involvement in relation to the struggle, though most of them separate between the military wings of the organisations and the political wings. They consider that by joining the political wing of the organisation and being part of the decision making in contrast to the military wing changes their whole involvement in the fighting, to an extent that they are not violent any more, that they chose a different path, in spite of the fact that it is the same organisation and whatever the leadership board decided the operational wing executes.

As interviewee number 9 explains,

I would not leave my political involvement but the way will change, the means will change. I believe I did what I had to do, since the beginning it was not something I specialised in, I am not qualified for it but I did it because I had to. Now I need to do what I am right for, what I am good at, I did enough. When I will be released I see myself raising my family, finishing my doctoral degree and having a distinguished position in the organisation but only on the political side.

This is an Islamic Jihad leader who was sentenced to life. This is his second incarceration; the first was for four years for involvement in a bombing that had only



caused injuries. During four years prior to his subsequent incarceration he led several terrorist operations that killed twenty one Israeli civilians. In total he has been in prison for more than eight years and since his last incarceration he has been known to be cooperative and pragmatic in his decisions.

## **Conclusions**

Two significant aspects of the leaders' incarceration were analysed in this chapter: the process these prisoners are going through while in prison and its influence on their radicalisation or de-radicalisation attitudes towards terrorism.

It seems that these prisoners' adjustment to incarceration is relatively easy and that they suffer from less symptoms of 'pain of imprisonment' in comparison to other criminal prisoners. This can be verified by their conduct in prison through their determination of planning their near future despite their long terms sentences and their persistent self-development via gaining higher education and wider knowledge and skills. Furthermore, they are well aware of the strong support they receive from their family and social surrounding outside of prison as well as their fellow prisoners who guide them throughout their first days in prison in every basic need. This patronage from both sources influences their self-esteem and allowing them to perceive the incarceration as an essential task in their way to reach their ideological and personal goals.

The results relating to the analysis of radicalisation or de-radicalisation of the leaders in Israeli prisons are not definite or similar to any de-radicalisation processes such as

those in other countries that are detailed earlier in this chapter. It can be argued that due to the length of time spent in prison, gaining education and general knowledge and taking on leadership roles, these prisoners are all going through a unique processes during their incarceration of self-development and mind opening. However it is difficult to state whether it has been an actual de-radicalisation process due to the fact that most of them still believe in their organisations' agenda and some of them even declare they will be happy to go back to work in the organisation upon their release, although not in the military side of it. For this reason, there is a need to also consider other aspects which are detailed early in the thesis, such as the strong support of the organisations and their social surrounding towards the struggle and fighting for the noble cause of releasing their people and land from this evil and deprivation which not allowing them to abandon the agenda but further they try to adjust their experience in prison to sticking with their essence of fighters but being more pragmatic toward solutions and open minded to dialogue and communications.

## **Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusion**

The main goal of this study was to enrich available knowledge on the phenomenon of terrorist leadership in Israeli prisons; a unique phenomenon in scope and conduct compared with other similar phenomena of terrorist leaders in other prisons in the world. Crucially, this topic is significantly understudied and is not well understood by academics and decision makers alike, and hence throughout the study it was most difficult to find a solid literature base as well as evidence from previous studies to the findings and assertions this study has raised.

The research was conducted by an analysis of the social-psychology profile of the interviewed leaders based on five main elements:

1. Social influence factors;
2. Personality profile;
3. Mind-set;
4. Leadership role; and,
5. Imprisonment.

The main findings regarding each aspect are as follows:

1. Social influence factors: the social formation of the leaders is based on their social surrounding which includes elements such as family, friends, educational institutions, youth movements and the terrorist organisations themselves. Social surrounding was found to be most influential in drawing individuals into joining terror organisations, and into being deeply involved in violent political activity. The interviewees' social

surroundings- by offering support and advocating this involvement – in addition to the organisations themselves, through their motivating ideology and their activism, were more influential catalysts of involvement in terrorist activities; compared with socioeconomic status and family status that were not found to be among the main causes for involvement in terrorist activities.

2. Personality profile: the interviewees are very responsible for their actions and their surroundings and were not found to be manipulative, suspicious or excitement seekers, nor did they exhibit poor behavioural control. Most of the interviewees possessed medium to high self-esteem and had good communication skills. As for their ability to show remorse; the findings demonstrate that they did not regret their terrorist actions. However, this is not a characteristic of their personality, as they could express regret for other elements in their lives. An analysis of the findings based on Hare's scale<sup>570</sup> does not point out any clear characteristics of delinquent or antisocial personality.
  
3. Mind-set: the interviewees used mostly rationalisation techniques commonly employed by criminals rather than the ones commonly used by terrorists. Out of the ten techniques advanced by criminals, the interviewees in this study were found to use the techniques which included elements of rationality, yet allowed for the expression of strong self-confidence and the shouldering of responsibility. These techniques

---

<sup>570</sup> Hare, R. D. (1991) *The Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R)*. Toronto, Ontario: Multi-Health Systems.

included: defence of necessity, claim of entitlement, condemnation of the condemners, denial of the law and the denial of the victim. This was also true regarding the one technique adopted by the interviewees in this study that is commonly used by terrorists according to the literature– feeling themselves to be the saviours of their people. Other rationalisation techniques, reviewed in the literature and adopted by terrorists and criminals alike, were not commonly used by the interviewees in this study. These other techniques, which express a larger degree of passing on responsibility as well as a lack of self-esteem were probably more likely to apply to the non-leading members of the organizations rather than the leaders.

4. Leadership role: The leaders of the religious organisations based their main leadership principles mostly on religion, and demanding total compliance to it while also expressing self-responsibility and reliability as their most important leadership characteristics. The majority of them found the organisations' targets and goals to be more important than the members themselves, who were expected to self-sacrifice for the righteous cause if needed. They found it more difficult to lead inside prison rather than outside of it. By contrast, Fatah leaders denoted their main leadership principles as being equality, justice and the ability to solve difficult issues. They perceived the followers as the organisation's main reason for existence, and hence, they perceived them as more important than the organisation's goals. They found leadership outside prison a more difficult task than leading inside prison. According to the

findings of this research, there are three common aspects of leadership which leaders from both types of organisations share. Firstly, both types desire to continue their leadership role upon their release. Secondly, both perceive leadership as a demanding role and as hard work, which entails dealing with difficult individuals and necessitates extensive self-sacrifice. Thirdly, most of them were found to be extremely charismatic individuals who also possess sufficient transactional qualities.

5. Imprisonment: The interviewees' adjustment to imprisonment was found to be relatively easy for most. They suffer less from 'pain of imprisonment' symptoms, mostly due to the strong support they receive from their family and from their social surrounding outside of prison, as well as from their fellow prisoners who guide them throughout their first days in prison and help them with their needs. The results relating to their radicalisation or de-radicalisation within Israeli prisons are neither definite, nor are they similar to any other de-radicalisation processes. It seems that they have not abandoned the ideology and the belief in the righteousness of the cause, but rather they are more pragmatic towards finding solutions and have become more open minded to dialogue and communication.

### **The general social-psychology profile**

The analysis of the wider social-psychology profile of the leaders, based on the five aspects discussed above, suggests that the most influential aspect of the five is the

**social influences** element. Following this, the social process these individuals are going through is highly significant. This corresponds with the literature on the importance of different social influences on a person's life<sup>571</sup>, as well as the literature regarding the relations between involvement in terrorism on the one hand, and social aspects in general on the other.<sup>572</sup> This multiple dimensional social process is initiated at birth and its main consequences lead towards political involvement, and especially towards joining terror organisations. By the time these individuals reach maturity, the social process is embedded in them and has an immense effect on the other angles of the profile as well, including their personality, their mind-set, their leadership role and imprisonment.

**Imprisonment** is the second element of the five which was also found to have a major influence on all the other elements which constitute the profile: initial social process, personality, mind-set and leadership. Though imprisonment occurs in a later stage of the interviewees' lives, it also has a significant effect on their personal and professional development. It can also be defined as a *secondary social process*. However, as was detailed in the fifth chapter,<sup>573</sup> this influential process is conditioned by the fulfilment of the other elements taking place in prison, such as: the length of time spent in prison, attainment of education and the adoption of leadership roles. During their imprisonment, the interviewees go through a unique process which improves their general understanding of the conflict, as well as their communication skills, and makes them more pragmatic in their conduct and activism. Accordingly,

---

<sup>571</sup> See introduction to this thesis, p.36-37.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid.

<sup>573</sup> See chapter number 7 of this thesis, p.276-280.

both the primary social process, as well as the secondary social process, i.e. imprisonment, affects each of the three elements gradually, as will be detailed further:

Personality- According to an analysis of the interviewees' statements, as were detailed in the third and fourth chapters, their initial social process established their main personality characteristics as consisting of a high self-esteem, a high degree of responsibility and high degree of determination. Their domestic circumstances, as well as the reality of the conflict and its consequences on their social surroundings, encouraged them to expose and develop their leadership qualities from a very young age. This happened as they attempt to take control and influence their circumstances. This initiative also amplifies their self-esteem and determination as well as their sense of responsibility towards their families and social environment. Furthermore, they expressed being very strong-minded and inflexible in their behaviour and activism towards their families, their friends and their colleagues in the organisations, as well as the conduct of the struggle in general.

During their time in prison, these characteristics developed even further. Their leadership role, which in most cases, becomes more formal in prison due to the fact that the elections for it are structured and organised, expands their sense of responsibility towards their fellow prisoners, along with elements of Palestinian society, which include the inmates' families and relatives, who lean on them morally and financially. This secondary social process also contributes to the development of their conduct and behaviour in a sense that they are more open-minded and more able to adjust to difficult situations, as well as more able to acknowledge mistakes and are more sensitive in their decision making process.



Mind-set- The interviewees detailed their thoughts and points of view regarding the conflict and hence their rationalisations for carrying out the terror activities. Six main rationalisation techniques were found: defence of necessity, claim of entitlement, condemnation of the condemners, denial of the law and the victim, and feeling as the saviours of their people.<sup>574</sup> An analysis of this data, combined with the two social processes mentioned above, reveals that the initial social process has an immense influence on their mind-set and the use of all these rationalisations. While during the secondary social process, which takes place throughout imprisonment, four out of the six techniques mentioned above are reframed, while the other two are not. The four reframed techniques are: defence of necessity, claim of entitlement, condemnation of the condemners and feeling as the saviour. The interviewees explained that during their incarceration they had improved their understanding of the conflict and of Israeli society in general. Even though they did not regret their previous acts and still acknowledged their importance to the struggle, they declared they would act in a different way if they had the chance to do so in the future, as they had realised that the method needed to change. Although they still despised the occupation, they were aware of the fact that there were Israelis with names and faces on the other side, and this fact changed the way they perceived the struggle and how to conduct it. As for the fourth technique, feeling as the saviours of their people, it seems that imprisonment only enhances this perception due to the fact that they are bestowed with the distinguished status of 'political prisoners'. As such they are viewed by definition as prisoners who sacrificed everything for their people and hence are admired by their entire society. The two techniques that are not reframed during

---

<sup>574</sup> See chapter 5 in this thesis, p.209-217.

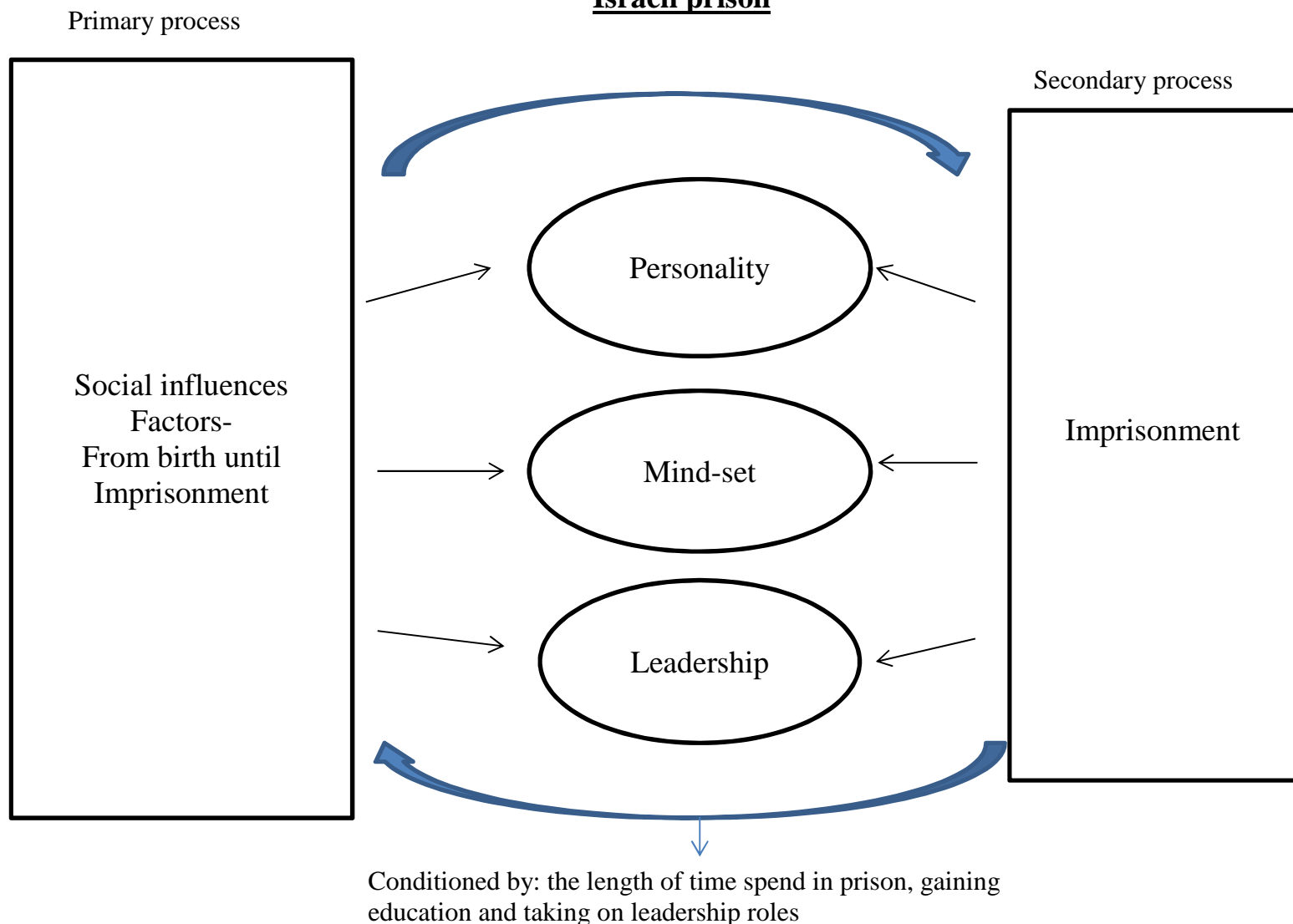
imprisonment are the rejection of Israeli law and denial of the victim. This happens probably due to the personal as well as national sensitivity of these two issues.

Leadership role: as was mentioned previously, the initial social process greatly influences the emergence of leadership qualities within the interviewees from a very young age. It seems that due to the social environment's traditional characteristics, their leadership type is more autocratic, and is based mostly on charisma as well as on being single minded and inflexible. However, compared with their role outside of prison, leadership plays a well-structured role in prison. Although some functioned as leaders in the organisations outside of prison as well, others were not formal leaders. Rather they held minor leading roles or else they were not leaders at all prior to their imprisonment. Furthermore, the prison's demanding environment compelled them to adjust their conduct and behaviour and hence they operated in a more cooperative way with others, including sharing their decision-making process. This was found to be more strongly expressed within the religious organisations, compared with the secular ones. Most political activities of the organisations within prison are conducted in a democratic fashion. This, they all admitted, was a big change from their conduct in the organisation outside prison. The interviewees explained that as leaders in prison they had to be more sensitive and understanding towards other inmates, as well as more practical and 'hands on' in their approach in order to make any changes or to achieve any progress. It appears from this analysis that the two most influential elements of the profile are the social environment aspect and imprisonment. The initial social process is influential, long and intensive; it is deeply rooted and has a significant impact on their conduct and behaviour. The imprisonment, as the secondary social process, starts at a later stage of the interviewees' lives, after the

initial social process is already well established. However, only fulfilment of the three main conditions during imprisonment proved to promote change and these were: the length of time spent in prison, gaining education and taking on leadership roles. Without the fulfilment of these three conditions it is most likely that the application of the initial social process will continue its effect and push towards more radical involvement in the conflict, with less pragmatism and a limited ability to communicate. Accordingly, the influence of these two main elements on each other is also conditioned by the three conditions mentioned above. Only the fulfilment of all three would allow imprisonment to change the course of the initial social process.

This process is expressed in the chart below

**Table number 3: Social-psychology profile of terrorist leaders in Israeli prison**



### **Importance of the findings and practice implications**

This study opens a window into the mind-set and conduct of terrorist leaders in Israeli prisons. The data gathered from the long interviews covers a wide range of information regarding the leaders' lives and perceptions. In addition, it reveals a picture of social relations within the broader Palestinian community; and it throws light on the complex yet mutually enriching relationship between Palestinian leadership within prison to their social surroundings and cadres outside the prisons walls. The rich and unique data and the exclusive findings stress the need to use social-psychology profiling as a distinctive method of investigation and information gathering, as it allows for a better understanding of both individual and group phenomena. This method is unique in its ability to acquire first-hand information where the literature suffers from a considerable absence of such valuable data, and where the means to study this topic has hitherto mostly relied on information derived from secondary sources only.

As was mentioned in the methodology chapter of this thesis,<sup>575</sup> this methodology which included conducting interviews with such a group of people revealed great personal, ethical and technical challenges, which the researcher had to overcome. She did so by taking every measure possible including various ethical means such as: keeping independency and transparency towards the interviewees, the prison authorities and the outcomes of the research, as well as allowing the interviewees to participate out of their own free will and promising them anonymity throughout the research.

---

<sup>575</sup> See methodology, chapter 2, p.136-139.

Moreover, the social psychology approach emphasises the importance of social aspects to the development of human mind-set and behaviour. It is true that some claim that it suffers from a lack of scientific means and objectivity. The researcher herself was born and raised in an Israeli environment and could not claim to be totally neutral and objective towards such sensitive matters. However, she confronted these obstacles by scrupulously observing complete transparency throughout the research and in the writing up of the entire study; and in the process she developed and maintained a professional and respectful relationship with her interviewees. Indeed, the willingness of most of the interviewees to be so candid and forthcoming about their attitudes and past lives could be interpreted both as a proof of their willingness to cooperate with the project; and as a litmus test for the success of the project itself, and the methodology it employed.

Furthermore, social psychology profiling was found to be the most suitable method for this research, as it studies individuals who are characterised as having a strong social identity, motives and mind-set; and who attained their main aspiration from their social surroundings as well as social experiences, figures and institutions throughout their lives. Conversely, the method of profiling suffers as well from criticism mainly for its ethical challenges and also due to its alleged lack of efficiency, especially in relation to terrorism. However, this technique allowed the researcher to analyse the information gathered during the interviews in a matter of angles and categories. By employing this modality the researcher eventually discovered the similarities and differences between the varied interviewees and groups they affiliate with. Hence the method employed revealed a range of nuance

that other methods might not have discerned. Furthermore, by so doing, it more accurately reflected the reality of variety within a range of people who might otherwise be monolithically characterised under the rubric of 'violent terrorist'.

Looking to the future, and as one major ancillary by-product of the exercise, these findings are particularly relevant for decision makers in Israel. The reason is that Israel faces a severe lack of communication in its relation with the Palestinian leadership. It might be useful to prioritise and promote- when possible- communication with leaders who spent time in Israeli prisons and who acquired leadership roles within the Palestinian society upon their release. This might allow for an improvement in the decision making process and negotiations skills in future contact between Israel and the Palestinians, not least as many former terrorists in other situations and places have become tomorrow's diplomats and politicians. It is possible that changes in attitude while in prison, as witnessed by this study, could further an improved level of cooperation, remote as this might seem currently. In addition, though there are currently no de-radicalisation programmes in Israeli prisons, the findings suggest that the leaders are going through a unique process while in prison which results in the adoption of a more pragmatic and communicative attitude. Compared with other leaders of these organisations outside prison, this attitude is distinct and unique.

With regard to analysis of conclusions, and based on the established profile, this study reveals a unique structure of two different social processes taking place, both of which greatly influence the three main aspects in their lives: their social environment, their mind-set and their leadership role; albeit in quite diverse ways. These findings

perceive imprisonment differently from most studies related to incarceration which identify it as a harmful process for an individual; whereas according to *this* study the security prisoners incarcerated in Israel experience imprisonment as a place for development and empowerment. According to the findings, they suffer from fewer symptoms of ‘pain of imprisonment’ as compared to other criminal prisoners; and they improve their status and activism. As for their radicalisation or de-radicalisation process within their incarceration, most prior studies find prisons to be hubs for radicalisation and extremism. This research partly concurred by finding that, indeed for the short term, prison does tend to radicalise. However, for the long term, conditioned with further gaining of education and taking on of leadership roles, it found that Israeli prisons are also, or can be, a place for consideration and pragmatism.

### **Research limitations**

As mentioned previously in the methodology chapter of this thesis, the assumption of qualitative research is that completely objective research is impossible, because the processes observed by humans passes through their personal ‘filter’, and is affected by their personal and cultural knowledge.<sup>576</sup> Therefore, there are many valid perceptions of reality which are structured by both groups and individuals. Interviews, such as the ones conducted in this study, are a form of intervention and have an effect on the participant; this effect creates a limitation, since it is possible that the words of the participants during the interview were influenced by the interaction created between them and the interviewer. Qualitative research method involves the

---

<sup>576</sup> See methodology, chapter 2, p.132-139.

formation of a personal relationship between the researcher and the participant, as participants share difficult and complex life stories. It may be that the participants' personal exposure to the interviewer has an impact on the course of the interview and its content.<sup>577</sup> Furthermore, in qualitative research, validity and consistency are tested according to the degree of trustworthiness of the study, mainly by relying on its credibility. Most of this can be established by performing validation of the interviews with the participants, who are presented with the findings and they can confirm and validate them. However, this could not be done in this study, due to the technical difficulties of carrying out a second round of meeting with the participants; therefore the only validation that can be made is by 'observer triangulation', as the supervisor of the thesis reads the data and validates the research.<sup>578</sup>

Furthermore, an important aspect of qualitative research that might poses some challenges, as well as opportunities, is the role of the researcher, which has a significant impact on the study and must be acknowledged, especially in sensitive study such as the present one. Unlike quantitative research, in a qualitative study the researcher is an instrument, an essential part that solely conducts and analyses the information; thus the researcher's own qualities will determine the characteristics of the study and its results. Qualities such as background, sex, race, ethnicity, religion, or other personal aspects such as intelligence or ambitions, influence the researcher's attitudes and decision-making process and shape the study in a particular way. Opponents of the qualitative method use this exact aspect, in order to claim that this

---

<sup>577</sup> Maxwell, J.A. (2004, p.106) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. SAGE; Padgett (1998, p.18-24).

<sup>578</sup> Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1985, p.301-327) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE.



method lacks credibility;<sup>579</sup> however others argue that as long as it is acknowledged and dealt with, it can enrich the research and lead to some fascinating outcomes.<sup>580</sup>

The researcher in the present study is an Israeli Jewish female who was born and raised in Israel. She is a criminologist who spent most of her adult life working closely with people who were imprisoned criminals or who were hospitalised due to mental illness. The approach this researcher has taken in order to conduct this research is a continuation of her background and experiences of the criminological therapeutic attitude, which approaches people as very complex individuals with both good and bad sides, and that the effort of disclosing both sides may lead to fascinating, revealing and enriching phenomena.<sup>581</sup>

Another important challenge in this type of research is the relationship between the researcher and the correctional institutions concerned, a relationship that could be seen as raising potential conflict of interests.<sup>582</sup> The delicate relations between the researcher and the IPS were dealt with by an open attitude from both sides as to the needs and boundaries of the study. Nevertheless, the researcher undertook the study as an outside researcher and not as a prison official, which allowed further objectivity towards the institutional perceptions. The details regarding the interviewees were not exposed by the researcher (excluding a general report on aspects of the phenomenon

---

<sup>579</sup> Fink, A. S. (2000) The Role of the Researcher in the Qualitative Research Process. A Potential Barrier to Archiving Qualitative Data. *Qualitative Social Research*. 1 (3); Henwood, K. L. & Pidgeon, N. F. (1992, p.104-106) Qualitative research and psychological theorizing. *British Journal of Psychology*. 83 (1), 97–111.

<sup>580</sup> Padgett (1998, p.18-24), chapter 2: The Researcher as instrument.

<sup>581</sup> On criminological attitude see Vitello, C. J. (2003) Stalking Laws, Therapeutic Jurisprudence, and Peacemaking Criminology: A Radical Law-Psychology Inquiry. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*. 3 (2), 1–37.

<sup>582</sup> Patenaude, A. L. (2004, p.72-73), No Promises, But I'm Willing to Listen and Tell What I Hear: Conducting Qualitative Research among Prison Inmates and Staff. *The Prison Journal*. 84 (4), 69–91.

of terrorist leadership in Israeli prisons, which was analysed by the researcher and presented to the IPS authorities).

The researcher was assisted in doing the interviews privately with no guard or prison official in the room, in order to allow privacy for the discussions to be conducted freely and genuinely. Only the researcher held the script of the detailed conversations with the interviewees and no specific or private information was transferred to the IPS or any outside agency. The researcher assured the IPS that the findings of the research would be transcribed as a general phenomenon and not as profiles of specific leaders. The IPS could only respond to security or personal threats, if such were raised by the researcher. The IPS was not involved in the written work and could not edit or remove information at any stage of the research. Furthermore, there were no boundaries as to the conduct of the research, what kind of questions were asked, or what information was obtained - the researcher had sole rights in deciding the detailed procedures and conduct of the study, within the ethical framework established by the ethical approval process of the IPS and Bar-Ilan University. The IPS, for its part, insisted on the security measures to be taken during the interviews such as an emergency button in the room, intercom and random checks by guards; it insisted that in case of any exposure to security risks through obtaining information that might contain security threats, the researcher would report it immediately to the IPS intelligence department. Furthermore, it required that every interviewee sign a consent form explaining to him his rights and the procedures of the research.<sup>583</sup> The IPS also asked for the first article related to this research to be published initially in

---

<sup>583</sup> See appendix 3: Consent form the prisoners had to sign prior to the interview. (translated to English), p.348

the IPS journal, *Window to Prison- Theory and Practice*, which the researcher did after completing her field work in the prisons.<sup>584</sup>

As was mentioned in the methodology chapter of this thesis,<sup>585</sup> this study raises numerous ethical issues, mainly due to the use of prisoners as participants. Hence Established ethical principles used in qualitative studies<sup>586</sup> were adhered to in this research; the purpose and procedure of the research was clarified to the interviewees, as well as the significant potential benefits of the study No interviews were carried out without the interviewee's full willingness to participate. In cases of refusal to participate, the interview was cancelled. Furthermore, the prisoners acknowledged that they were free to discuss and answer any issue or question they viewed as suitable, and were free to decline to speak on any subject that they found uncomfortable or inappropriate for discussion. They were promised anonymity during the research process and upon the publication of the results; the interviews were conducted privately, no security personnel, prison staff, or any other prisoners were present during the interviews in order not to jeopardise the interviewee's confidentiality and ability to speak freely. Other ethical measures relating to the study were covered by the ethical approval committee taken place at Bar-Ilan university, as was mentioned previously,<sup>587</sup> which focused on the interviews structure and contents through avoiding any possible risk for the interviewees as well as increasing sufficiency of the result to all concerns.

---

<sup>584</sup> Yehoshua, S. (2009) Personality Profile of Terrorist Leaders in Prison, *Window to Prison- Theory and Practice*, IPS: Press office. 12, 104-116. (In Hebrew)

<sup>585</sup> See methodology chapter p.132-139

<sup>586</sup> For information regarding ethical considerations in qualitative research see Fontan, A. & Frey, J. H. (2005, p.715-716) 'The Interview- from Neutral Stance to Political Involvement', in Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. third SAGE. pp. 695-727.

<sup>587</sup> See appendix 1- Bar-Ilan ethical approval, p. 345-346

### **Suggestions for future research**

The findings apply mostly to prioritizing communication with these leaders upon their release from prison. They suggest that these leaders might be a better option as counterparts in talks rather than other leaders who have not gone through the process of ‘pragmatisation’ while incarcerated. Interestingly, no research was conducted to date regarding these aspects of communication with leaders who spend time in Israeli prisons versus those who did not. Moreover, during the writing-up stage of this study, many of the leaders who participated in it were released as a part of peace processes brokered with Israel. It is possible that they are now serving as leaders of the different organisations. Exploring their conduct presently might offer a revealing and interesting follow-up research to this study, one that could either reinforce or contradict the findings presented here. Other possible follow-up studies include a wider study of other prisons around the world, in countries which suffer from similar issues of terrorism and incarceration of terrorists, though different countries and regions would naturally require some adjusting and amendments to the methodology.

This research was based primarily on the participants own perceptions and thoughts, where their social surroundings were found to be one of their main influential aspects to their development, conduct and decision-making process. Therefore, another interesting follow-up to this research that might be able to validate these findings is the investigation of these social environments, and their perceptions towards this group of interviewees in general, and their own relatives’ participation in particular. This can be done by interviews as well as by utilising open sources information related to these cultures and social surroundings. Furthermore, by comparing the

characteristics and perceptions of this specific environment, to other social surroundings in similar conflict zones, such as Northern Ireland, researchers could conceivably reinforce the findings. In short, it would allow for a better understanding of this phenomenon by exploring its similarities to and differences from other parallel societies.

## Bibliography

### Primary resources- Interviews:

Adato, O. (2011) *Security Prisoners*.

G, senior intelligence officer (2009) *Security Prisoners*.

Gabay, I. (2011) *Security Prisoners*.

H, intelligence officer (2009) *Security Prisoners*.

### Secondary Sources- Books, Journals, New Items, etc:

Abdul-Aziz, O. (2008) Judge Hamoud al-Hitar, Minister of Islamic Affairs, Talks about Using Dialogue to Confront Extremists. *Yemen Observer*. 4 June.

Abdallah, H. (1994) *The Literary Production of Political Imprisonment: A Historical Analytical Study*. Jerusalem: Al Zahra Research Centre

Abdallah, H. (1996) *A Journalism that Challenged the Chain*. Ramallah: Al Mashriq Research Centre

Abdullah, S. (2002) 'The Soul of a Terrorist: Reflections on Our War with the 'Other'', in Chris E. Stout (ed.) *The Psychology of Terrorism: A Public Understanding*. Greenwood Publishing Group. pp. 129–142.

Abrams, D. & Hogg, M. A. (1998) *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. Psychology Press.

Abu al Haj, F. (1992) *The Knights of the Intifada Talking from Behind the Bars*. Jerusalem: Jamyat al Dirast al Arabieh.

Abu Amr, Z. (1994) *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad*. Indiana University Press.

Abu-Amr, Z. (1993) Hamas: A Historical and Political Background. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 22 (4), 5–19.

Ackerman, F. (1995) The Concept of Manipulativeness. *Philosophical Perspectives*. 9. 335–340.

Addis, C. L. (2011) *Hezbollah: Background and Issues for Congress*. DIANE Publishing.

- Agnew, R. (2009) *Juvenile Delinquency- Causes and Control*. Third. New York and Oxford: Oxford university press.
- Ainsworth, P. B. (2001) *Offender Profiling and Crime Analysis*. Illustrated edition. Willan Publishing.
- Ajzenstadt, M. & Ariel, B. (2008) Terrorism and Risk Management. *Punishment & Society*. 10 (4), 355 –374.
- Akers, R. L. (1977) Type of Leadership in Prison: A Structural Approach to Testing the Functional and Importation Models. *The Sociological Quarterly*. 18 (3), 378–383.
- Alderdice, Lord. (2007) The Individual, the Group and the Psychology of Terrorism. *International Review of Psychiatry*. 19 (3), 201–209.
- Alesina, A. F. & Giuliano, P. (2009) Family Ties and Political Participation. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*. No. 15415. Available from: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w15415> (Accessed 22 March 2011).
- Alexander, Y. (2002) *Palestinian Religious Terrorism: Hamas and Islamic Jihad*. Transnational Publishers.
- Al-Hadlaq, A. (2011) 'Terrorist Rehabilitation- the Saudi Experience', in Lawrence Rubin et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-terrorism*. 1st edition Routledge. pp. 59–69.
- Al-Haj, M. (1987) *Social Change and Family Processes: Arab Communities in Shefar-A'm*. 1st edition. Westview Press Inc.
- Al-Haj, M. M. (1989) Social Research on Family Lifestyles among Arabs in Israel. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*. 20. 175–195.
- Al-Hitar, H. A. (2011) 'Dialogue and its Effects on Countering Terrorism', in Lawrence Rubin et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-terrorism*. 1st edition. Routledge. pp. 109–121.
- Allport, G. W. (1935) 'Attitudes', in C Murchison (ed.) *A Handbook of Social Psychology*. Worcester, MA: Clark University Press. pp. 798–844.
- Allport, G. W. (1968) 'The Historical Background of Modern Psychology', in Gardner Lindzey & Elliot Aronson (eds.) *The Handbook of Social Psychology*. 2nd edition Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co. pp. 1–80.
- Allport, G. W. (1937) *Personality: a Psychological Interpretation*. Vol. xiv. Oxford, England: Holt.
- Allport, G. W. (1931) What is a Trait of Personality? *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 25, 368–372.
- al-Mughrabi, N. (2012) Israel hammers Hamas in Gaza offensive. *Reuters*. 14

- November. Available from: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/14/us-palestinians-israel-hamas-idUSBRE8AD0WP20121114> (Accessed 17 November 2012).
- Al-Saud, N. B. A. (2009) Saudi Arabia's Strategy to Combat Terrorism. *The RUSI Journal*. 154 (6), 74–80.
- American Psychiatric Association (2000) *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV*. Fourth. American Psychiatric Pub.
- Annan, K. (2006) *Uniting Against Terrorism- Recommendations for a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/unitingagainstterrorism/>.
- Arboleda-Fl rez, J. (1991) Ethical Issues Regarding Research on Prisoners. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 35 (1), 1–5.
- Arditti, J. A. (1999) Rethinking Relationships between Divorced Mothers and Their Children: Capitalizing on Family Strengths. *Family Relations*. 48 (2), 109–119.
- Arena, M. P. & Arrigo, B. A. (2005) Social Psychology, Terrorism, and Identity: a Preliminary Re-examination of Theory, Culture, Self, and Society. *Behavioural Sciences & the Law*. 23 (4), 485–506.
- Armstrong, J. (2007) 'Getting the Best and Reducing the Worst in How Humans Act- Myth Busting & Momentum Building', in *CRU Conference*. February 2007 Available from: <http://www.socialrolevalorization.com/articles/armstrong/cru-conference-paper-feb-2007.pdf>.
- Arnett, J. J. (1999) Adolescent Storm and Stress, Reconsidered. *American Psychologist*. 54 (5), 317–326.
- ASH (1993) *Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP)*. Available from: [http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/archive/irb/irb\\_guidebook.htm](http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/archive/irb/irb_guidebook.htm) (Accessed 27 October 2012).
- Ashour, O. (2010a) De-Radicalization of Jihad? The Impact of Egyptian Islamist Revisionists on Al-Qaeda. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 2 (5). Available from: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/36/html> (Accessed 7 December 2011).
- Ashour, O. (2010b) *Islamist De-Radicalization in Algeria: Successes and Failures*. Available from: <http://hdl.handle.net/123456789/27135>.
- Ashour, O. (2008) Islamist De-Radicalization in Algeria: Successes and Failures. *The Middle East Institute Policy Brief*. 21. 1–10.
- Ashour, O. (2007) Lions Tamed? An Inquiry into the Causes of De-Radicalisation of Armed Islamist Movements: The Case of the Egyptian Islamic Group. *The Middle East Journal*. 61 (4), 596–625.



- Ataeli, A. & Bander, A. (2011) The Families' Victims are Furious- the Security Prisoners' Conditions is Outrages. *Maariv*. 15 June. Available from: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/250/510.html>.
- Atran, S. (2003) Genesis of Suicide Terrorism. *Science*. 299 (5612), 1534–1539.
- Attar, B. K. et al. (1994) Neighbourhood Disadvantage, Stressful Life Events and Adjustment in Urban Elementary-School Children. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology*. 23. 391–400.
- Auhagen, A. E. & Bierhoff, H. W. (2001) *Responsibility: The Many Faces of a Social Phenomenon*. Routledge.
- Austin, J. (2009) Prisons and Fear of Terrorism. *Criminology & Public Policy*. 8 (3), 641–646.
- Ayoob, M. (2004) Political Islam: Image and Reality. *World Policy Journal*. 21 (3), 1–14.
- Ayoob, M. (2005) The Future of Political Islam: The Importance of External Variables. *International Affairs*. 81 (5), 951–961.
- Bahnsen, J. C. (2001) 'Charisma', in Christopher D. Kolenda et al. (eds.) *Leadership: The Warrior's Art*. Stackpole Books. pp.259–276.
- Baker, A. M. (2011) 'Palestinian Political Prisoners', in Nadim Rouhana N & Areej Sabbagh-Khoury (eds.) *The Palestinians in Israel- Readings in History, Politics and Society*. Haifa- Israel: Mada al-Carmel- Arab Centre for Applied Social Research. pp. 100–109. Available from: <http://www.mada-research.org/UserFiles/file/E-book-palestinian/eng/E-palestinian-eng.pdf#page=100>.
- Baker, A. M. (1991) Psychological Response of Palestinian Children to Environmental Stress Associated With Military Occupation. *Journal of Refugee Studies*. 4 (3), 237 –247.
- Bander, A. (2010) The Ministers Committee Certify Worsening the Conditions of Hamas Prisoners. *Maariv*. 25 May. Available from: <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART2/109/846.html>.
- Bandura, A. (1990) 'Mechanism of Moral Disengagement', in Walter Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Woodrow Wilson Centre Press and Cambridge University Press. pp. 161–191.
- Barakat, H. (1993) *The Arab World: Society, Culture, and State*. University of California Press.
- Barber, B. K. (1999) Political Violence, Family Relations, and Palestinian Youth Functioning. *Journal of Adolescent Research*. 14 (2), 206 –230.
- Barnett, E. & Casper, M. (2001) A Definition of 'Social Environment'. *American Journal of Public Health*. 91 (3), 465.

- Barnett, R. (1990) *The Idea of Higher Education*. Society for Research into Higher Education.
- Baron, M. (2003) Manipulativeness. *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*. 77 (2), 37–54.
- Barrick, M. R. & Mount, M. K. (1991) The Big Five Personality Dimensions and Job Performance: A Meta-Analysis. *Personnel Psychology*. 44 (1), 1–26.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2000) *Shared Beliefs in a Society: Social Psychological Analysis*. SAGE.
- Bartol, C. R. (1996) Police Psychology Then, Now, and Beyond. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 23 (1), 70–89.
- Barton, R. (1966) *Institutional Neurosis*. Wright.
- Bass, B. M. (1990) *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*. Free Press.
- Bass, B. M. (1985) *Leadership and Performance beyond Expectations*. Illustrated edition. New York: The Free Press.
- Bass, B. M. & Avolio, B. J. (1993a) 'Transformational Leadership: A Response to Critiques.', in Martin M. Chemers (ed.) *Leadership Theory and Research: Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. pp. 49–80.
- Bass, B. M. & Avolio, B. J. (1993b) *Transformational Leadership: A Response to Critiques. Leadership: Theory and Research Perspectives and Directions*. New York: Academic Press.
- Bass, B. M. & Bass, R. R. (2008) *The Bass Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research, and Managerial Applications*. Simon and Schuster.
- Bass, B. M. & Riggio, R. E. (2006) *Transformational Leadership*. Routledge.
- Bass, B. M. & Steidlmeier, P. (1999) Ethics, Character, and Authentic Transformational Leadership Behaviour. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 10 (2), 181–217.
- Bates-Gaston, J. (2003) 'Terrorism and Imprisonment in Northern Ireland: A Psychological Perspective', in Andrew Silke (ed.) *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences*. Wiley. pp. 233–255. Available from: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9780470713600.ch12/summary> (Accessed 2 September 2011).
- Baumeister, R. F. (1996) *Evil: Inside Human Violence and Cruelty*. W H Freeman & Co.
- Baumgarten, H. (2005) The Three Faces/Phases of Palestinian Nationalism, 1948–2005. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 34 (4), 25–48.

- Baxi, P. et al. (2006) Legacies of Common Law: 'Crimes of Honour' in India and Pakistan. *Third World Quarterly*. 27 (7), 1239–1253.
- BBC (2012) *BBC - History - Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*. Available from: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic\\_figures/conan\\_sir\\_arthur\\_doyle.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/historic_figures/conan_sir_arthur_doyle.shtml) (Accessed 26 October 2012).
- BBC (2003) Profile: Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. *BBC*. 1 July. Available from: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/1760492.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/1760492.stm) (Accessed 27 July 2012).
- BBC (2010) Profile: Jemaah Islamiyah. *BBC*. 10 March. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/8155240.stm> (Accessed 7 December 2011).
- BBC (2007) Profile: Muktar Ibrahim. *BBC*. 11 July. Available from: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/email\\_news/6634901.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/email_news/6634901.stm) (Accessed 25 November 2011).
- BBC (2001) Who is Richard Reid? *BBC*. 28 December. Available from: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/1731568.stm> (Accessed 25 November 2011).
- Becker, D. (1995) 'The Deficiency of the Concept of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder when Dealing with Victims of Human Right Violations', in R Kleber J et al. (eds.) *Beyond Trauma, Cultural and Societal Dynamics*. New York and London: Plenum Press.
- Becker, G. S. (1968) Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach. *The Journal of Political Economy*. 76 (2), 169–217.
- Bekker, E. (2006) *Jihadi Terrorists in Europe- Their Characteristics and the Circumstances in Which They Joined the Jihad: An Exploratory Study*. Clingendael: Netherland Institute of International Relations. Available from: [http://www.nbiz.nl/publications/2006/20061200\\_cscp\\_csp\\_bakker.pdf](http://www.nbiz.nl/publications/2006/20061200_cscp_csp_bakker.pdf).
- Bem, D. J. & Allen, A. (1974) On Predicting some of the People some of the Time: The Search for Cross-Situational Consistencies in Behaviour. *Psychological Review*. 81 (6), 506–520.
- Bennell, C. et al. (2008) What Skills are required for Effective Offender Profiling? An Examination of the Relationship between Critical Thinking Ability and Profile Accuracy. *Psychology, Crime & Law*. 14 (2), 143.
- Ben-Tsur, D. (2007) Political Conflict Confronted through Prison Education: A Case Study of Israeli Teachers Working with Palestinian Prisoners. *Journal of Correctional Education*. 58 (2), 108–128.
- Berda, Y. (2011) 'The Security Risk as a Security Risk: Notes on the Classification Practices of the Israeli Security Service', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp. 44–56.
- Bergen, P. L. (2006) *The Osama Bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of Al Qaeda's*

*Leader*. Simon and Schuster.

- Berko, A. (2007) *The Path to Paradise: The Inner World of Suicide Bombers and Their Dispatchers*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Berman, E. (2000) Sect, Subsidy and Sacrifice: An Economist's View of Ultra-Orthodox Jews. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 115 (3), 905–953.
- Bernard, M. L. & Bernard, J. L. (1983) Violent Intimacy: The Family as a Model for Love Relationships. *Family Relations*. 32 (2), 283–286.
- Berrebi, C. (2007) Evidence about the Link between Education, Poverty and Terrorism among Palestinians. *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy*. 13 (1).
- Beyers, J. M. et al. (2003) Neighbourhood Structure, Parenting Processes, and the Development of Youths' Externalizing Behaviours: A Multilevel Analysis. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 31 (1-2), 35–53.
- Biblarz, T. J. & Raftery, A. E. (1999) Family Structure, Educational Attainment, and Socioeconomic Success: Rethinking the 'Pathology of Matriarchy'. *American Journal of Sociology*. 105 (2), 321–365.
- Billig, O. (1985) The Lawyer Terrorist and his Comrades. *Political Psychology*. 6 (1), 29–46.
- Bjørge, T. (2005) *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*. Routledge.
- Blackburn, R. (1988) On Moral Judgements and Personality Disorders- The Myth of Psychopathic Personality Revisited. *British Journal of Psychiatry*. 153. 505–512.
- Block, J. (1971) *Lives Through Time*. Berkeley, CA: Bancroft Books.
- Borgeson, K. & Valeri, R. (2009) *Terrorism in America*. Jones & Bartlett Learning.
- Bornstein, A. (2001) Ethnography and the Politics of Prisoners in Palestine-Israel. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*. 30 (5), 546 –574.
- Bornstein, A. (2010) Palestinian Prison Ontologies. *Dialectical Anthropology*. 34. 459–472.
- Borum, R. (2004) *Psychology of Terrorism*. Tampa: University of South Florida.
- Boucek, C. (2011) 'Extremist Disengagement in Saudi Arabia', in Lawrence Rubin et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-terrorism*. 1st edition Routledge. pp. 70–90.
- Boucek, C. (2007) Extremist Re-education and Rehabilitation in Saudi Arabia. *Terrorism Monitor*. 5 (16). Available from:  
[http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no\\_cache=1&tx\\_ttnews\[tt\\_news\]=4321](http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=4321)

(Accessed 6 December 2011).

- Boucek, C. (2008) Jailing Jihadis: Saudi Arabia's Special Terrorist Prisons. *Terrorism Monitor*. 6 (2). Available from:  
[http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=4682&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=167&no\\_cache=1](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/gta/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=4682&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=167&no_cache=1) (Accessed 6 December 2011).
- Bovenkerk, F. & Abou Chakra, B. (2006) 'Terrorism and Organised Crime', in Alex P. Schmid (ed.) *Forum on Crime and Society*. United Nations Publications. pp. 3–16.
- Bradley, R. H. & Corwyn, R. F. (2002) Socioeconomic Status and Child Development. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 53 (1), 371–399.
- Brandon, J. (2005) *Koranic Duels Ease Terror*. Available from:  
<http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0204/p01s04-wome.html> (Accessed 6 December 2011).
- Bregman, A. (2000) *Israel's Wars, 1947-93*. Routledge.
- Bregman, A. (2002) *Israel's Wars: a History since 1947*. Routledge.
- Bregman, A. & El-Tahri, J. (1999) *50 Years' War*. TV Books.
- Bregman, A. & El-Tahri, J. (2000) *Israel and the Arabs: an Eyewitness Account of War and Peace in the Middle East*. TV Books.
- Breuilly, J. (2011) Max Weber, Charisma and Nationalist Leadership. *Nations and Nationalism*. 17 (3), 477–499.
- Brexel, B. (2003) *Yasser Arafat*. The Rosen Publishing Group.
- Briggs, S. R. (1989) The Optimal Level of Measurement for Personality Construct', in David M. Buss & Nancy Cantor (eds.) *Personality Psychology: Recent Trends and Emerging Directions*. Springer-Verlag. pp. 246–260.
- Brooks-Gunn, J. et al. (1993) Do Neighbourhoods Influence Child and Adolescent Development? *The American Journal of Sociology*. 99 (2), 353–395.
- Brooks-Gunn, J. & Duncan, G. J. (1997) The Effects of Poverty on Children. *The Future of Children*. 7 (2), 55–71.
- Brown, J. M. (1997) Manipulativeness and Dialogue. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*. 4 (2), 137–144.
- Brown, N. J. (2006) *Aftermath of the Hamas Tsunami*. Available from:  
[http://edoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/HALCoRe\\_derivate\\_00004835/Carnegie\\_BrownHamasWebCommentary.pdf](http://edoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/HALCoRe_derivate_00004835/Carnegie_BrownHamasWebCommentary.pdf).
- Brown, N. J. (2010) The Hamas - Fatah Conflict: Shallow but Wide. *Fletcher Forum*

*of World Affairs*. 3435.

- Brown, N. J. (2008) *The Road out of Gaza*. Available from:  
[https://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/brown\\_gaza\\_final.pdf](https://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/brown_gaza_final.pdf).
- Brown, S. L. (2004) Family Structure and Child Well-Being: The Significance of Parental Cohabitation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 66 (2), 351–367.
- Bruner, J. (1991) The Narrative Construction of Reality. *Critical Inquiry*. 18 (1), 1–21.
- Brunner, E. et al. (1996) Childhood Social Circumstances and Psychosocial and Behavioural Factors as Determinants of Plasma Fibrinogen. *The Lancet*. 347 (9007), 1008–1013.
- Brussel, J. A. (1968) *Casebook of a Crime Psychiatrist*. Bernard Geis Associates; distributed by Grove Press.
- Buhler, E. G. (2010) The Israeli Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance and its Impact on the Quality of Democracy. *Stanford Journal of International Relations*. XI (2), 58–63.
- Burgess, E. W. & Locke, H. J. (1945) *The family: From Institution to Companionship*. New York: American book.
- Burns, J. M. (1978) *Leadership*. 1st edition. Harpe and Row.
- Burns, J. S. (1996) Defining Leadership: Can We See the Forest for the Trees? *Journal of Leadership & Organizational Studies*. 3 (2), 148–157.
- Buss, A. H. (1988) *Personality: Evolutionary Heritage and Human Distinctiveness*. L. Erlbaum Associates.
- Buss, D. M. (1999) 'Human Nature and Individual Differences: The Evolution of Human Personality', in Lawrence A. Pervin & Oliver P. John (eds.) *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*. 2nd edition New York and London: Guilford Press. pp. 31–56.
- Butcher, J. N. (1999) *A Beginner's Guide to the MMPI-2*. Vol. xiii. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.
- Byrne, M. W. (2005a) Conducting Research as a Visiting Scientist in a Women's Prison. *Journal of professional nursing : official journal of the American Association of Colleges of Nursing*. 21 (4), 223–230.
- Byrne, M. W. (2005b) Conducting Research as a Visiting Scientist in a Women's Prison. *Journal of Professional Nursing*. 21 (4), 223–230.
- Cairns, E. & Dawes, A. (1996) Children: Ethnic and Political Violence-a Commentary. *Child Development*. 67 (1), 129–139.
- Caldwell, J. C. (1986) Routes to Low Mortality in Poor Countries. *Population and*

- Development Review*. 12 (2), 171–220.
- Canter, D. (2004) Offender Profiling and Investigative Psychology. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*. 1 (1), 1–15.
- Canter, D. (2009) *Pathways to the Radicalization of Islamic Terrorists in India*. International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology: University of Huddersfield.
- Canter, D. (2006) The Samson Syndrome: Is There a Kamikaze Psychology? *Twenty-First Century Society*. 1 (2), 107–127.
- Canter, D. & Barrett, E. (2006) *Narratives of Violence*. Centre for Investigative Psychology: Liverpool.
- Carlyle, T. & Adams, J. C. (1907) *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*. Boston; New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.
- Caspi, Avshalom et al. (1994) Are some People Crime-Prone? Replications of the Personality-Crime Relationship across Countries, Genders, Races and Methods. *Criminology*. 32 (2), 163–196.
- Catsambis, S. (2001) Expanding Knowledge of Parental Involvement in Children's Secondary Education: Connections with High School Seniors' Academic Success. *Social Psychology of Education*. 5 (2), 149–177.
- Cernkovich, S. A. & Giordano, P. C. (1987) Family Relationships and Delinquency. *Criminology*. 25:295.
- Cervone, D. & Pervin, L. A. (2009) *Personality: Theory and Research*. 11th edition. Wiley.
- Christensen, P. N. et al. (2004) Social Norms and Identity Relevance: A Motivational Approach to Normative Behaviour. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*. 30 (10), 1295–1309.
- Cilluffo, F. J. et al. (2006) *Out of the Shadows: Getting Ahead of Prisoner Radicalization*. Available from: <http://www.gwumc.edu/hspi/policy/PrisonerRadicalization.pdf>.
- Cilluffo, F. J. et al. (2007) Radicalisation: Behind Bars and beyond Borders. *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. 13 (2), 113–122.
- Cleckley, H. (1976) *The Mask of Sanity*. 5th Revised edition. Mosby.
- Clemmer, D. (1940) *The Prison Community*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Clubb, G. (2009) Re-Evaluating the Disengagement Process: the Case of Fatah. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 3 (3), 25–34.
- Cobban, H. (1984) *The Palestinian Liberation Organisation: People, Power and Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

- Coleman, J. W. (2005) *The Criminal Elite: Understanding White-Collar Crime*. 6th edition. Worth Publishers.
- Coleman, J. W. (1994) *The Criminal Elite : The Sociology of White-Collar Crime*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Collins, B. E. (1970) *Social Psychology: Social Influence, Attitude Change, Group Processes, and Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley Pub. Co.
- Collins, W. W. (1860) *The Woman in White*. Bernhard Tauchwitz.
- Collins, W. W. (1868) *The Moonstone*. Wordsworth Editions Ltd.
- Conger, Jay A. (1999) Charismatic and Transformational Leadership in Organizations: An Insider's Perspective on These Developing Streams of Research. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 10 (2), 145–179.
- Conger, Jay Alden & Kanungo, R. N. (1998) *Charismatic Leadership in Organisations*. SAGE.
- Cooke, D. J. et al. (2007) Understanding the Structure of the Psychopathy Checklist – Revised an Exploration of Methodological Confusion. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*. 190 (49), 39–50.
- Cooper, H. H. A. (1978) Psychopath as Terrorist. *Legal Medical Quarterly*. 2. 253–262.
- Cooper, H. H. A. (1977) What is a Terrorist: a Psychological Perspective. *Legal Medical Quarterly*. 1. 16–32.
- Cooper, H. H. A. (2001) Terrorism The Problem of Definition Revisited. *American Behavioural Scientist*. 44 (6), 881–893.
- Copson, G. et al. (1997) Articulating a Systematic Approach to Clinical Crime Profiling. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*. 7 (1), 13–17.
- Corbin, J. & Morse, J. M. (2003) The Unstructured Interactive Interview: Issues of Reciprocity and Risks when Dealing with Sensitive Topics. *Qualitative Inquiry*. 9 (3), 335–354.
- Costa Jr, P. T. & McCrae, R. R. (1992) Four Ways Five Factors are Basic. *Personality and Individual Differences*. 13 (6), 653–665.
- Costa Jr., P. T. & McCrae, R. R. (1986) Personality Stability and Its Implications for Clinical Psychology. *Clinical Psychology Review*. 6 (5), 407–423.
- Costa, P. T. J. & McCrae, R. R. (1988) From Catalogue to Classification: Murray's Needs and the Five-Factor Model. *Journal of Personality*. 55 (2), 258–265.
- Cottee, S. & Hayward, K. (2011) Terrorist (E)motives: The Existential Attractions of Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 34 (12), 963–986.



- Cowley, W. H. (1931) The Traits of Face-to-Face Leaders. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. 26 (3), 304–313.
- Crenshaw, M. (1981) The Causes of Terrorism. *Comparative Politics*. 13 (4), 379–399.
- Crenshaw, M. (2000) The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st Century. *Political Psychology*. 21 (2), 405–420.
- Crenshaw, M. (1987) Theories of Terrorism: Instrumental and Organizational Approaches. *Journal of Strategic Studies*. 10 (4), 13–31.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*. Sage Publications.
- Crimm, N. J. (2004) High Alert: The Government's War on the Financing of Terrorism and Its Implication for Donors, Domestic Charitable Organizations, and Global Philanthropy. *William and Mary Law Review*. 45 (4), 1341–1451.
- Cromwell, P. & Thurman, Q. (2003) The Devil Made Me Do It: Use of Neutralizations by Shoplifters. *Deviant Behaviour*. 24 (6), 535–550.
- Cuthbertson, I. M. (2004) Prisons and the Education of Terrorists. *World Policy Journal*. 21 (3), 15–22.
- Dawson, D. A. (1991) Family Structure and Children's Health and Well-Being: Data from the 1988 National Health Interview Survey on Child Health. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 53 (3), 573–584.
- Dean, G. (2007) 'Criminal Profiling in a Terrorism Context', in Richard N. Kocsis (ed.) *Criminal Profiling*. Totowa, NJ: Humana Press. pp. 169–188. Available from: <http://www.springerlink.com/content/w016t74364728717/> (Accessed 2 September 2011).
- Dearey, M. (2009) *Radicalisation*. 1st edition. Routledge-Cavendish.
- Deikman, A. J. (2005) 'The Psychological Power of Charismatic Leaders in Cults and Terrorist Organisations', in James J.F. Forest (ed.) *The Making of a Terrorist: Recruitment, Training, and Root Causes*. Praeger. pp. 71–83.
- Demleitner, N. (2003) How Many Terrorists Are There? The Escalation in So-Called Terrorism Prosecutions. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*. 16 (1), 38–42.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. third. SAGE.
- Department Of State, B. of P. A. (2012) *Establishment of the Bureau of Counterterrorism*. Available from: <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/rm/2012/180148.htm> (Accessed 22 February 2012).
- Department Of State. The Office of Electronic Information, B. of P. A. (1968) 1968 -

- Palestinian National Charter*. Available from: <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/nea/rls/22573.htm> (Accessed 22 October 2012).
- Department Of State. The Office of Electronic Information, B. of P. A. (2006) *2000 (Patterns of Global Terrorism)*. Available from: <http://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2000/> (Accessed 25 October 2012).
- Desker, B. (2003) The Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) Phenomenon in Singapore. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*. 25 (3), 489–507.
- Dhami, M. K. et al. (2007) Adaptation to Imprisonment. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 34 (8), 1085–1100.
- Digman, J. M. (1990) Personality Structure: Emergence of the Five-Factor Model. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 41 (1), 417–440.
- Dipak K, G. (2006) 'Towards an Integrated Behavioural Framework for Analysing Terrorism: Individual Motivations to Group Dynamics', in 22 March 2006 San Diego, California: p. 34.
- Dishion, T. J. et al. (1995) Antisocial Boys and Their Friends in Early Adolescence: Relationship Characteristics, Quality, and Interactional Process. *Child Development*. 66 (1), 139–151.
- Ditchfield, J. (1990) *Control in Prisons: A Review of the Literature*. H.M.S.O. London.
- Dolnik, A. & Bhattacharjee, A. (2002) Hamas: Suicide Bombings, Rockets, or WMD? *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 14 (3), 109–128.
- Douvan, E. A. M. & Adelson, J. (1966) *The Adolescent Experience*. New York: Wiley.
- Doyle, S. A. C. (2012) *The Complete Sherlock Holmes: All 4 Novels and 56 Short Stories*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Drake, C. J. M. (1998) The Role of Ideology in Terrorists' Target Selection. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 10 (2), 53–85.
- Druker, P. (1992) *From Yesterday's Management to Tomorrow's Leadership*. Tel Aviv: Trivax Matar.
- Dubas, J. S. et al. (2003) The Study of Adolescence During the 20th Century. *The History of the Family*. 8 (3), 375–397.
- Duncan, G. J. et al. (2001) Sibling, Peer, Neighbour, and Schoolmate Correlations as Indicators of the Importance of Context for Adolescent Development. *Demography*. 38 (3), 437–447.
- Eccles, J. et al. (1997) 'The Association of School Transitions in Early Adolescence with Developmental Trajectories through High School', in J Schulenberg et al. (eds.) *Health Risks and Developmental Transitions during Adolescence*.

- Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 283–320.
- Eddy, P. L. & VanDerLinden, K. E. (2006) Emerging Definitions of Leadership in Higher Education New Visions of Leadership or Same Old 'Hero' Leader? *Community College Review*. 34 (1), 5–26.
- Eiser, J. R. (1997) 'Attitudes and Beliefs', in Andrew Baum et al. (eds.) *Cambridge Handbook of Psychology, Health, and Medicine*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 3–6.
- Eldar, S. (2005) 'The Palestinian Leadership in Prison', in 2005 Jerusalem. Available from: <http://www.vanleer.org.il/heb/videoShow.asp?id=29>.
- Eliason, S. L. & Dodder, R. A. (1999) Techniques of Neutralization Used by Deer Poachers in the Western United States: a Research Note. *Deviant Behaviour*. 20 (3), 233–252.
- Elo, I. T. & Preston, S. H. (1992) Effects of Early-Life Conditions on Adult Mortality: A Review. *Population Index*. 2 (58), 186–212.
- El-Said, H. & Barrett, R. (2010) 'Radicalisation and Extremism that Lead to Terrorism', in Jane Harrigan & Hamed El-Said (eds.) *Globalisation, Democratisation and Radicalisation in the Arab World*. Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 199–235.
- Ensari, N. & Murphy, S. E. (2003) Cross-Cultural Variations in Leadership Perceptions and Attribution of Charisma to the Leader. *Organisational Behaviour and Human Decision Processes*. 92 (1-2), 52–66.
- Entwisle, D. R. & Astone, N. M. (1994) Some Practical Guidelines for Measuring Youth's Race/Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status. *Child Development*. 65 (6), 1521–1540.
- Erbes, C. et al. (2005) Posttraumatic Growth among American Former Prisoners of War. *Traumatology*. 11 (4), 285 –295.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968) *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. Norton. New York.
- Esmail, A. (2007) Towards a Psycho-anthropological View of Religious Violence. *International Review of Psychiatry*. 19 (3), 243–251.
- Eysenck, H. J (1990) 'Biological Dimensions of Personality', in Lawrence A. Pervin (ed.) *Handbook of personality: Theory and research*. 1st edition New York: Guilford Press. pp. 244–276.
- Eysenck, Hans Jürgen & Gudjonsson, G. H. (1989) *The Causes and Cures of Criminality*. Springer.
- Falk, A. (2004) *Fratricide in the Holy Land: A Psychoanalytic View of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Farquhar, S. C. (2009) *Back to Basics: A Study of the Second Lebanon War and*

*Operation CAST LEA*. Government Printing Office.

- Farrington, David P. (1998) 'Predictors, Causes and Correlates of Male Youth Violence', in Michael H. Tonry & Mark Harrison Moore (eds.) *Youth Violence*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. pp. 421–475.
- Farrington, David P. (1987a) 'Early Precursors of Frequent Offending: Families, Schools, and Delinquency Prevention', in Glenn C. Loury & James Q. Wilson (eds.) *From Children to Citizens: Families, Schools, and Delinquency Prevention*. 1st edition. Springer. pp. 27–50.
- Farrington, David P. (1987b) Predicting Individual Crime Rates. *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research*. 953–102.
- Farrington, David P. & Welsh, B. (2007) *Saving Children from a Life of Crime: Early Risk Factors and Effective Interventions*. Oxford University Press.
- FBI- Federal Bureau of Investigation (2012) *Laboratory Services*. Available from: <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/lab/lab> (Accessed 26 October 2012).
- FBI- Federal Bureau of Investigation, C. division (2007) *Terrorism 2002-2005*. Available from: [http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005/terror02\\_05.pdf](http://www.fbi.gov/stats-services/publications/terrorism-2002-2005/terror02_05.pdf).
- Feder, A. et al. (2008) Posttraumatic Growth in Former Vietnam Prisoners of War. *Psychiatry*. 71 (4), 359–370.
- Feinstein, L. et al. (2008) *Education and the Family: Passing Success across the Generations*. Taylor & Francis.
- Feldstein, S. P. (ed.) (2009) *Terrorists Ideology and the Implications of Radicalisation*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Ferguson, N. (2010) 'Disengaging from Terrorism', in Andrew Silke (ed.) *The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 111–122.
- Figchel, J. (2007) 'The 'Radicalization Process' in Prisons', in 25 December 2007 Eilat- Israel: ICT- International Institute for Counter-Terrorism.
- Fine, J. (2008) Contrasting Secular and Religious Terrorism. *Middle East Quarterly*. XV (1), 59–69.
- Fink, A. S. (2000) The Role of the Researcher in the Qualitative Research Process. A Potential Barrier to Archiving Qualitative Data. *Qualitative Social Research*. 1 (3). Available from: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1021> (Accessed 11 August 2012).
- Fishbein, M. (1965) 'A Consideration of Beliefs, Attitudes, and Their Relationships', in I. D Steiner & M Fishbein (eds.) *Current Studies in Social Psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. pp. 107–120.
- Fishbein, M. & Ajzen, I. (1975) *Belief, Attitude, Intention and Behaviour: an*

*Introduction to Theory and Research*. Addison-Wesley: Reading, MA.

- Fitzpatrick, M. A. & Vangelisti, A. L. (1995) *Explaining Family Interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. Available from: <http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/detail?accno=ED387229> (Accessed 24 August 2011).
- Flanagan, T. J. (1981) Dealing With Long-Term Confinement. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 8 (2), 201 –222.
- Flanagan, T. J. (1995) *Long-Term Imprisonment: Policy, Science, and Correctional Practice*. Sage Publications.
- Fogarty, S. G. (2010) The Dark Side of Leadership. *Australasian Pentecostal Studies*. 137–141.
- Fontan, A. & Frey, J. H. (2005) 'The Interview- from Neutral Stance to Political Involvement', in Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. third SAGE. pp. 695–727.
- Forgas, J. P. & Williams, K. D. (2001) *Social Influence: Direct and Indirect Processes*. Psychology Press.
- Fortune, S. H. (2003a) *Inmate and Prison Gang Leadership*. PhD thesis. East Tennessee State: East Tennessee State University. Available from: <http://etd-submit.etsu.edu/etd/theses/available/etd-1103103-220112/> (Accessed 26 June 2012).
- Fraihi, T. (2008) '(De-) Escalating Radicalisation: The Debate within Muslim and Immigrant Communities', in Rik Coolsaet (ed.) *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe*. Ashgate. pp. 131–138.
- Franck, T. M. (2004) Criminals, Combatants, or What? An Examination of the Role of Law in Responding to the Threat of Terror. *The American Journal of International Law*. 98 (4), 686–688.
- Freedman, D. S. (1963) The Relation of Economic Status to Fertility. *The American Economic Review*. 53 (3), 414–426.
- Freeman, R. B. (1994) Crime and the Job Market. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*. No. 4910. Available from: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w4910>.
- Freud, A. (1958) Adolescence. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*. 13. 255–278.
- Frisch, H. (2005) Has the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Become Islamic? Fatah, Islam, and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 17 (3), 391–406.
- Funder, D. C. (1991) Global Traits: A Neo-Allportian Approach to Personality. *Psychological Science*. 2 (1), 31–39.

- Gabel, S. (1992) Behavioural Problems in Sons of Incarcerated or Otherwise Absent Fathers: The Issue of Separation. *Family Process*. 31 (3), 303–314.
- Gaes, G. G. (2008) 'The Impact of Prison Education Programs on Post-Release Outcomes', in 1 April 2008 John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York City: Available from: <http://www.jjay.cuny.edu/GaesTheEffectivenessofPrisonEducationPrograms.pdf>.
- Galpin, R. (2011) *BBC News - Gilad Shalit Freed in Israeli-Palestinian Prisoner Swap* Available from: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15339604> (Accessed 19 November 2011).
- Ganor, B. (1991) Cancer and Its Name Terrorism: the National Resistance Movement- the Hamas. *Matara- the Israeli monthly for Intelligence, Army and Security*. 19. 24–36.
- Ganor, B. (2002) Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist another Man's Freedom Fighter? *Police Practice and Research*. 3 (4), 287–304.
- Garbarino, J. & Kostelny, K. (1996) The Effects of Political Violence on Palestinian Children's Behaviour Problems: A Risk Accumulation Model. *Child Development*. 67 (1), 33–45.
- Gardner, F. (2008) Saudi Jails Aim to Tackle Terror. *BBC*. 31 January. Available from: [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/7220797.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/7220797.stm) (Accessed 5 December 2011).
- Garfinkel, R. (2007) *Personal Transformations: Moving from Violence to Peace*. Available from: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA472142&Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf>.
- Gentry, C. (2004) The Relationship between New Social Movement Theory and Terrorism Studies: The Role of Leadership, Membership, Ideology and Gender. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16 (2), 274–293.
- Georgas, J. et al. (1997) The Relationship of Family Bonds to Family Structure and Function across Cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*. 28 (3), 303–320.
- Gibson, K. (1989) Children in Political Violence. *Social Science & Medicine*. 28 (7), 659–667.
- Giles, M. W. & Dantico, M. K. (1982) Political Participation and Neighbourhood Social Context Revisited. *American Journal of Political Science*. 26 (1), 144–150.
- Global Future Forum (2006) *Radicalisation, Violence and the Power of Networks*.
- Goffman, E. (1961) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients*. Harmondsworth, UK: Pelican.

- Goldberg, L. R. (1971) 'A Historical Survey of Personality Scales and Inventories', in P McReynolds (ed.) *Advances in psychological assessment*. Palo Alto, CA: Science and Behaviour Books. pp. 293–336.
- Golder, B. & Williams, G. (2004) What is 'Terrorism'? Problems of Legal Definition. *SSRN eLibrary*. Available from: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1351612](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1351612) (Accessed 23 October 2012).
- Goleman, D. et al. (2002) *Primal Leadership: Realizing the Power of Emotional Intelligence*. Harvard Business Press.
- Gordon, D. & Lindo, S. (2011) *Jemaah Islamiyah*. Available from: [http://csis.org/files/publication/111101\\_Gordon\\_JemaahIslamiyah\\_WEB.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/111101_Gordon_JemaahIslamiyah_WEB.pdf).
- Gostin, L. O. et al. (eds.) (2007) *Ethical Considerations for Research Involving Prisoners*. National Academies Press.
- Gove, W. R. & Crutchfield, R. D. (1982) The Family and Juvenile Delinquency. *Sociological Quarterly*. 23 (3), 301–319.
- Gowers, S. (2005) Development in Adolescence. *Psychiatry*. 4 (6), 6–9.
- GPO, A. U. G. I. (2001) *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA Patriot ACT) Act of 2001*. Available from: <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PLAW-107publ56/pdf/PLAW-107publ56.pdf>.
- Graham, J. W. et al. (1991) Social Influence Processes Affecting Adolescent Substance Use. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*. 76 (2), 291–298.
- Grotevant, H. D. & Cooper, C. R. (1985) Patterns of Interaction in Family Relationships and the Development of Identity Exploration in Adolescence. *Child Development*. 56 (2), 415–428.
- Grubin, D. (1995) Offender Profiling. *The Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*. 6 (2), 259–263.
- Guba, E. G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. SAGE.
- Gunaratna, R. et al. (2011) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis.
- Gunaratna, R. (2011) Terrorist Rehabilitation: a Global Imperative. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*. 6 (1), 65–82.
- Gunaratna, R. & Bin Ali, M. (2009) De-Radicalization Initiatives in Egypt: A Preliminary Insight. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 32 (4), 277–291.
- Gunaratna, R. & Bin Mohamed Hassan, M. F. (2011) 'Terrorist Rehabilitation: the Singapore Experience', in Lawrence Rubin et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-Radicalisation: New Approaches to Counter-*

- terrorism*. 1st edition Routledge. pp. 36–58.
- Gunning, J. (2004) Peace with Hamas? The Transforming Potential of Political Participation. *International Affairs*. 80 (2), 233–255.
- Gurley, J. R. (2009) A History of Changes to the Criminal Personality in the DSM. *History of Psychology*. 12 (4), 285–304.
- Guru, S. (2010) Social Work and the ‘War on Terror’. *British Journal of Social Work*. 40 (1), 272–289.
- Haaretz (2011) *Gilad Shalit*. Available from:  
<http://www.haaretz.com/meta/Tag/Gilad%20Shalit> (Accessed 19 November 2011).
- Hacker, F. J. (1976) *Crusaders, Criminals, Crazies: Terror and Terrorism in Our Time*. 1st edition. W W Norton & Co Inc.
- Hacker, F. J. (1983) ‘Dialectic Interrelationships of Personal and Political Factors in Terrorism’, in Lawrence Zelic Freedman & Yonah Alexander (eds.) *Perspectives on Terrorism*. Scholarly Resources. pp. 19–31.
- Hacker, F. J. (1980) Terror and Terrorism: Modern Growth Industry and Mass Entertainment. *Terrorism*. 4 (1-4), 143–159.
- Hafez, M. M. & Hatfield, J. M. (2006) Do Targeted Assassinations Work? A Multivariate Analysis of Israel’s Controversial Tactic during Al-Aqsa Uprising. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 29 (4), 359–382.
- Hajjar, L. (2005) *Courting Conflict: the Israeli Military Court System in the West Bank and Gaza*. University of California Press.
- Haj-Yahia, M. M. (1995) Toward Culturally Sensitive Intervention with Arab Families in Israel. *Contemporary Family Therapy*. 17 (4), 429–447.
- Hall, G. S. (1904) *Adolescence its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. Vol. 1 and 2. New York: D. Appleton & Company. Available from:  
<http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/2004-20104-000/> (Accessed 20 May 2011).
- Hamermesh, D. S. & Soss, N. M. (1974) An Economic Theory of Suicide. *The Journal of Political Economy*. 82 (1), 83–98.
- Hamid, R. (1975) What is the PLO? *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 4 (4), 90–109.
- Haney, C. (2006) *Reforming Punishment: Psychological Limits to the Pains of Imprisonment*. Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Assn. Available from: <http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/2005-15546-000/> (Accessed 31 August 2011).
- Hare, R. D. (1980) A Research Scale for the Assessment of Psychopathy in Criminal Populations. *Personality and Individual Differences*. 1 (2), 111–119.



- Hare, R. D. (1996a) Psychopathy a Clinical Construct Whose Time Has Come. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 23 (1), 25–54.
- Hare, R. D. (1996b) Psychopathy and Antisocial Personality Disorder: A Case of Diagnostic Confusion. *Psychiatric Times*. 13 (2), 1–6.
- Hare, R. D. (1991) *The Hare Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R)*. Toronto, Ontario: Multi-Health Systems.
- Hare, R. D. (1993) *Without Conscience: the Disturbing World of the Psychopaths among Us*. Pocket Books.
- Harel, A. (2011) 'Who is a Security Prisoner and Why? An Examination of the Legality of Prison Regulations Governing Security Prisoners', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp. 37–43.
- Harik, J. P. (2005) *Hezbollah: The Changing Face of Terrorism*. I.B.Tauris.
- Harrigan, J. & El-Said, H. (2010) *Globalisation, Democratisation and Radicalisation in the Arab World*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hart, S. et al. (1994) 'Psychopathy as a Risk Marker for Violence: Development of a Screening Version of the Revised Psychopathy Checklist', in John Monahan & Henry J. Steadman (eds.) *Violence and Mental Disorder: Developments in Risk Assessment*. University of Chicago Press. pp. 81–98.
- Hart, S. et al. (1995) *The Hare Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version*. Toronto: Multi-Health Systems.
- Hasna, F. (2003) Islam, Social Traditions and Family Planning. *Social Policy and Administration*. 37 (2), 181–197.
- Hassan, N. (2001) An Arsenal of Believers- Talking to the 'human bombs'. *The New Yorker*. 19 November.
- Hatina, M. (2001) *Islam and Salvation in Palestine: the Islamic Jihad Movement*. The Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle Eastern and African studies, Tel Aviv University.
- Hayward, M. D. & Gorman, B. K. (2004) The Long Arm of Childhood: The Influence of Early-Life Social Conditions on Men's Mortality. *Demography*. 41 (1), 87–107.
- Heimer, K. (1997) Socioeconomic Status, Subcultural Definitions, and Violent Delinquency. *Social Forces*. 75 (3), 799–833.
- Henwood, K. L. & Pidgeon, N. F. (1992) Qualitative Research and Psychological Theorizing. *British Journal of Psychology*. 83 (1), 97–111.
- Hergenhahn, B. R. & Olson, M. (1999) *An Introduction to Theories of Personality*. 5th edition. Prentice Hall.

- Hicks, S. J. & Sales, B. D. (2006) *Criminal Profiling: Developing an Effective Science and Practice*. American Psychological Association.
- Hilal, J. M. (1995) The PLO Crisis in Legitimacy. *Race & Class*. 37 (2), 1–18.
- Hill, N. C. & Ritchie, J. B. (1977) The Effect of Self-Esteem on Leadership and Achievement: A Paradigm and a Review. *Group & Organisation Management*. 2 (4), 491–503.
- Hirschi, A. & Vondracek, F. W. (2009) Adaptation of Career Goals to Self and Opportunities in Early Adolescence. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 75 (2), 120–128.
- Hirschi, T. (1969) *Causes of Delinquency*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hirschi, T. & Hindelang, M. J. (1977) Intelligence and Delinquency : A Revisionist Review. *American Sociological Review*. 42 571–587.
- Hoffman, B. (2001) All You Need is Love- How the Terrorists Stopped Terrorism. Atlantic Magazine. Available from:  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2001/12/all-you-need-is-love/2351>
- Hoffman, B. (2006) *Inside Terrorism*. Columbia University Press.
- Hoffman, B. (2004) *Redefining Counterterrorism- The Terrorist Leader as CEO*. RAND Corporation . 28. 14–15.
- Hogan, Joyce & Hogan, Robert (1989) How to Measure Employee Reliability. *Journal of Applied Psychology April 1989*. 74 (2), 273–279.
- Hogan, R et al. (1994) What we Know about Leadership Effectiveness and Personality. *The American Psychologist*. 49 (6), 493–504.
- Holmes, R. M. & Holmes, S. T. (1996) *Profiling Violent Crimes: An Investigative Tool*. Second Edition. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Home office (2011) *CONTEST strategy- The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism*. Available from:  
<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/counter-terrorism-strategy/strategy-contest?view=Binary>.
- Home office (2009) *Pursue Prevent Protect Prepare the United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering International Terrorism*.
- Horgan, J. (2004) 'The Case of First hand Research', in Andrew Silke (ed.) *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements & Failures*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 30–56.
- Horgan, J. (2005) *The Psychology of Terrorism*. Routledge.
- Horgan, J. (2008a) From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalisation into Terrorism. *The ANNALS of the American*

*Academy of Political and Social Science*. 618 (1), 80–94.

- Horgan, J. (2008b) 'The Search for the Terrorist Personality', in Andrew Silke (ed.) *Terrorists, Victims and Society*. John Wiley & Sons Ltd. pp. 1–27. Available from: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9780470713600.ch1/summary> (Accessed 9 June 2012).
- Horgan, J. (2009) *Walking Away from Terrorism: Accounts of Disengagement from Radical and Extremist Movements*. Taylor & Francis.
- Horgan, J. & Braddock, K. (2010) Rehabilitating the Terrorists?: Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalisation Programs. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 22 (2), 267–291.
- Housden, M. (2005) An Early Example of Personality Profiling: Henry A. Murray's Study of Adolf Hitler Written for the OSS. *Rutgers J. Law & Relig.* 2–17.
- House, R. J. (1992) Charismatic Leadership in Service-producing Organisations. *International Journal of Service Industry Management*. 3 (2), 5–16.
- House, R. J. & Aditya, R. N. (1997) The Social Scientific Study of Leadership: Quo Vadis? *Journal of Management*. 23 (3), 409–473.
- Hout, M. & Rosen, H. S. (1999) Self-Employment, Family Background, and Race. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*. No. 7344. Available from: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w7344> (Accessed 22 March 2011).
- Hovdenak, A. (2009) Hamas in Transition: the Failure of Sanctions. *Democratization*. 16 (1), 59–80.
- Hroub, K. (2010) *Hamas- A Beginners Guide*. Second. Pluto Press.
- Hroub, K. (2004) Hamas after Shaykh Yasin and Rantisi. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 33 (4), 21–38.
- Huckfeldt, R. R. (1979) Political Participation and the Neighbourhood Social Context. *American Journal of Political Science*. 23 (3), 579–592.
- Hudson, R. A. (1999) *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Become a Terrorist and Why?* Available from: [http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc\\_Psych\\_of\\_Terrorism.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/pdf-files/Soc_Psych_of_Terrorism.pdf).
- Husserl, E. (1931) *Ideas: General Introduction to Pure Phenomenology*. J.H Muirhead (ed.). New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Husserl, E. & Hardy, L. (1999) *The Idea of Phenomenology*. Springer.
- Iacovou, M. & Berthoud, R. (2006) *The Economic Position of Large Families*. Available from: <http://193.129.121.133/asd/asd5/rports2005-2006/rrep358.pdf>.

- Iannaccone, L. R. (1997) Toward an Economic Theory of 'Fundamentalism'. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*. 153. 100–116.
- IPS (2011) *The Total Sum of 'Security Prisoners'*. Available from: [http://www.shabas.gov.il/Shabas/TIPUL\\_PRISONER/Prisoners+Info/prisoners\\_bithahoni.htm](http://www.shabas.gov.il/Shabas/TIPUL_PRISONER/Prisoners+Info/prisoners_bithahoni.htm).
- IPS- Intelligence Department (2003) *Memorandum- Political Prisoners*.
- Irwin, T. (2003) Prison Education in Northern Ireland: Learning from our Paramilitary Past. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*. 42 (5), 471–484.
- Isaac, J. (1989) A Socio-Economic Study of Administrative Detainees at Ansar 3. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 18 (4), 102–109.
- Israel, G. D. et al. (2001) The Influence of Family and Community Social Capital on Educational Achievement. *Rural Sociology*. 66 (1), 43–68.
- Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006) *Palestinian 'Prisoners' Document': Stepping away from Peace*. 29 June. Available from: <http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/About+the+Ministry/Behind+the+Headlines/Palestinian+Prisoners+Document+-+Stepping+away+from+peace+29-Jun-2006.htm> (Accessed 24 February 2012).
- Jackson, Janet L. & Bekerian, Debra Anne (1997) 'Does Offender Profiling Have A Role to Play?', in J. L Jackson & D. A Bekerian (eds.) *Offender Profiling: Theory, Research and Practice*. England: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Jackson, Janet L. & Bekerian, Debra Anne (1997) *Offender Profiling: Theory, Research and Practice*. Wiley.
- James III, R. N. & Sharpe, D. L. (2007) The 'Sect Effect' in Charitable Giving: Distinctive Realities of Exclusively Religious Charitable Givers. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*. 66 (4), 697–726.
- James, K. & Asmus, C. (2001) Personality, Cognitive Skills, and Creativity in Different Life Domains. *Creativity Research Journal*. 13 (2), 149–159.
- Javidan, M. & Waldman, D. A. (2003) Exploring Charismatic Leadership in the Public Sector: Measurement and Consequences. *Public Administration Review*. 63 (2), 229–242.
- Jencks, C. & Mayer, S. E. (1990) 'The Social Consequences of Growing Up in a Poor Neighbourhood', in Laurence E. Lynn Jr & Michael G.H McGeary (eds.) *Inner-City Poverty in the United States, National Research Council*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press. pp. 111–186.
- Jenkins, B. M. (1982) *Terrorism and Beyond: An International Conference on Terrorism and Low-Level Conflict*. Available from: <http://www.rand.org/pubs/reports/R2714.html> (Accessed 18 June 2012).
- Jensen, M. I. (2006) 'Re-Islamising' Palestinian Society 'From Below': Hamas and

- Higher Education in Gaza. *Holy Land Studies: A Multidisciplinary Journal*. 56 (1), 57–74.
- Johansson, P. et al. (2002) On the Operationalization of Psychopathy: Further Support for a Three-Faceted Personality Oriented Model. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*. 106 (s412), 81–85.
- John, Oliver P. (1990) 'The 'Big Five' Factor Taxonomy: Dimensions of Personality in the Natural Language and in Questionnaires', in Lawrence A. Pervin (ed.) *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*. New York and London: The Guilford Press. pp. 66–100.
- John, Oliver P. & Srivastava, S. (1999) 'The Big Five Trait Taxonomy: History, Measurement and Theoretical Perspectives', in Lawrence A. Pervin & Oliver P. John (eds.) *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*. Second Guilford Press.
- Johnson Listwan, S. et al. (2010) Victimization, Social Support, and Psychological Well-Being. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 37 (10), 1140–1159.
- Johnson, R. & Toch, H. (1982) *Pains of Imprisonment*. United State: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Johnson, V. & Pandina, R. J. (1991) Effects of the Family Environment on Adolescent Substance Use, Delinquency, and Coping Styles. *The American Journal of Drug and Alcohol Abuse*. 17 (1), 71–88.
- Johnstone, J. W. C (1978) Social Class, Social Areas and Delinquency. *Sociology and Social Research*. 63 (1), 49–72.
- Jordan, J. (2004) *Leadership Decapitation of Terrorist Organisations*. The International Studies Association. Available from: [http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/0/7/3/6/0/pages73601/p73601-1.php](http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/7/3/6/0/pages73601/p73601-1.php)
- Jordan, J. (2009) When Heads Roll: Assessing the Effectiveness of Leadership Decapitation. *Security Studies*. 18 (4), 719–755.
- Judge, T. A. et al. (2002) Personality and Leadership: a Qualitative and Quantitative Review. *The Journal of Applied Psychology*. 87 (4), 765–780.
- Judge, T. A. & Bono, J. E. (2000) Five-Factor Model of Personality and Transformational Leadership. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 85 (5), 751–765.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1996) *Family and Human Development across Cultures: A View from the Other Side*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Available from: <http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/detail?accno=ED410004> (Accessed 10 March 2011).
- Kahai, S. S. et al. (2003) Effects of Leadership Style, Anonymity, and Rewards on Creativity-Relevant Processes and Outcomes in an Electronic Meeting System

- Context. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 14 (4-5), 499–524.
- Kahan, D. M. (1997) Social Influence, Social Meaning, and Deterrence. *Virginia Law Review*. 83 (2), 349–395.
- Kaler, J. (2002) Responsibility, Accountability and Governance. *Business Ethics: A European Review*. 11 (4), 327–334.
- Kaplan, A. (1978) The Psychodynamics of Terrorism. *Terrorism*. 1 (3-4), 237–254.
- Kaplan, E. (2006) *Profile of Khaled Meshal (aka Khalid Meshaal, Khaleed Mash'al)*. Available from: [http://www.actforamericaeducation.com/downloads/All\\_Files\\_by\\_Type/www-cfr-org\\_publication\\_11111\\_profile\\_of\\_khaled\\_meshal\\_aka\\_k.pdf](http://www.actforamericaeducation.com/downloads/All_Files_by_Type/www-cfr-org_publication_11111_profile_of_khaled_meshal_aka_k.pdf).
- Katz, Lynn Fainsilber & Woodin, E. M. (2002) Hostility, Hostile Detachment, and Conflict Engagement in Marriages: Effects on Child and Family Functioning. *Child Development*. 73 (2), 636–652.
- Kellen, K. (1979) *Terrorists- What are they Like? How some Terrorists Describe their World and Action*. Available from: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA483788>.
- Kenny, C. B. (1992) Political Participation and Effects from the Social Environment. *American Journal of Political Science*. 36 (1), 259–267.
- Khalidi, A. S. (1996) The Palestinians' First Excursion into Democracy. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 25 (4), 20–28.
- Khoury-Kassabri, M. et al. (2006) Adolescents' Approach toward Children Rights: Comparison between Jewish and Palestinian children from Israel and the Palestinian Authority. *Children and Youth Services Review*. 28 (9), 1060–1073.
- Kimhi, S. & Even, S. (2004) Who Are the Palestinian Suicide Bombers? *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16 (4), 815–840.
- Kimhi, S. & Even, S. (2003) Yassir Arafat: Behavioural and Strategic Analysis. *Social Behaviour and Personality: an International Journal*. 31 (4), 363–373.
- Kimmel, D. C. & Weiner, I. B. (1994) *Adolescence: A Developmental Transition*. second. Wiley.
- Klein, M. (1996) Competing Brothers: The Web of Hamas-PLO Relations. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 8 (2), 111–132.
- Kling, J. R. et al. (2007) Experimental Analysis of Neighbourhood Effects. *Econometrica*. 75 (1), 83–119.
- Klockars, C. B. (1974) *The Professional Fence*. New York: Free Press.
- Kluckhohn, C. & Murray, H. A. (1953) 'Personality Formation: The Determinants', in

- Clyde Kluckhohn et al. (eds.) *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*. 2nd edition New York: Knopf. pp. 53–67.
- Kluznik, J. C. et al. (1986) Forty Year Follow-Up of United States Prisoners of War. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*. 143 (11), 1443–1446.
- Kocsis, R. N. & Palermo, G. B. (2005) Ten major Problems with Criminal Profiling. *American Journal of Forensic Psychiatry*. 26 (2), 45–67.
- Koerner, A. F. & Fitzpatrick, M. A. (2002) Toward a Theory of Family Communication. *Communication Theory*. 12 (1), 70–91.
- Korn, A. (2011) 'Prison Policy and Political Imprisonment in Northern Ireland and Israel', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp. 68–82.
- Korteweg, R. et al. (2010) 'Background Contributing Factors to Terrorism', in Magnus Ranstorp (ed.) *Understanding Violent Radicalisation: Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 21–49.
- Krueger, A. B. (2008) *What Makes a Homegrown Terrorist? Human Capital and Participation in Domestic Islamic Terrorist Groups in the U.S.A.* Available from: <http://dataspace.princeton.edu/jspui/handle/88435/dsp012f75r8023> (Accessed 25 February 2012).
- Krueger, A. B. & Maleckova, J. (2009) 'Does Poverty Cause Terrorism?', in Jeff Victoroff & Arie W. Kruglanski (eds.) *Psychology of Terrorism: Classic and Contemporary Insights*. 1st edition New York and Hove: Psychology Press. pp. 201–210.
- Krueger, A. B. & Maleckova, J. (2003) Education, Poverty and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 17 (4), 119–144.
- Krueger, A. B. & Maleckova, J. (2002) Education, Poverty, Political Violence and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection? *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*. No. 9074. Available from: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w9074>.
- Kruglanski, A. W. et al. (2010) *Aspects of De-radicalisation*. Available from: <http://www.asymmetricconflict.org/index.php/articles/kruglanski-aspects-deradicalization.html>.
- Kruglanski, A. W. et al. (2007) What Should This Fight Be Called? Metaphors of Counterterrorism and Their Implications. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest*. 8 (3), 97–133.
- Kurz, A. N. (2005) *Fatah and the Politics of Violence: The Institutionalization of a Popular Struggle*. Sussex Academic Press
- Kuttab, D. (1988) A Profile of the Stone throwers. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 17 (3), 14–23.

- Lanjouw, P. & Ravallion, M. (1995) Poverty and Household Size. *The Economic Journal*. 105 (433), 1415–1434.
- Laqueur, W. (1977a) *A History of Terrorism*. Transaction Publishers.
- Laqueur, W. (1977b) *Terrorism*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Laqueur, W. (1987) *The Age of Terrorism*. Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company.
- Laqueur, W. (1958) *The Middle East in Transition*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Lavi, I. & Slone, M. (2009) Resilience and Political Violence: A Cross-Cultural Study of Moderating Effects among Jewish- and Arab-Israeli Youth. *Youth & Society*. Available from: <http://yas.sagepub.com/content/early/2009/11/23/0044118X09353437> (Accessed 8 April 2011).
- Law, M. et al. (1996) The Person-Environment-Occupation Model: A Transactive Approach to Occupational Performance. *Canadian Journal of Occupational Therapy*. 63 (1), 9–23.
- Lawrence, R. (2011) 'Non-Kinetic Approaches to Counterterrorism: A Case Study of Egypt and the Islamic Group', in Rohan Gunaratna et al. (eds.) *Terrorist Rehabilitation and Counter-radicalisation new Approaches to Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis. pp. 26–35.
- Leigey, M. E. (2010) For the Longest Time: The Adjustment of Inmates to a Sentence of Life Without Parole. *The Prison Journal*. 90 (3), 247–268.
- Lerner, R. M. (1993) 'Early Adolescence: toward an Agenda for the Integration of Research, Policy, and Intervention', in *Early Adolescence: Perspectives on Research, Policy, and Intervention*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. pp. 1–13.
- Lerner, R. M. & Galambos, N. L. (1998) Adolescent Development: Challenges and Opportunities for Research, Programs, and Policies. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 49. 413–446.
- Lerner, R. M. & Steinberg, L. D. (2004) *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*. John Wiley and Sons.
- Levitt, M. (2004) Hamas from Cradle to Grave. *Middle East Quarterly*. XI (1), 3–15.
- Levitt, M. (2007) *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*. Yale University Press.
- Lewin, K. (1939) Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology: Concepts and Methods. *American Journal of Sociology*. 44. 868–896.
- Liebling, A. & Maruna, S. (2005) *The Effects of Imprisonment*. Cullompton Devon UK; Portland Or: Willan.



- Lilienfeld, S. O. (1994) Conceptual Problems in the Assessment of Psychopathy. *Clinical Psychology Review*. 14 (1), 17–38.
- Link, B. G. & Phelan, J. (1995) Social Conditions as Fundamental Causes of Disease. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*. 35. 80–94.
- Lis, J. et al. (2011) Prime Minister Benyamin Netanyahu, delayed for a year the legislation of worsening the conditions of security prisoners. *Ha'aretz*. 26 June. Available from: <http://www.haaretz.co.il/news/politics/1.1178361> (Accessed 25 February 2012).
- Litvak, M. (1998) The Islamization of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: the Case of Hamas. *Middle Eastern Studies*. 34 (1), 148–163.
- Litvak, M. (2002) *The Palestinian Islamic Jihad: Background Information*. Available from: <http://www.dayan.org/sites/default/files/taunotes56.pdf>.
- Livneh, H. & Livneh, C. (1989) The Five-Factor Model of Personality: Is Evidence of Its Cross-Measure Validity Premature? *Personality and Individual Differences*. 10 (1), 75–80.
- Loeber, R. & Stouthamer-Loeber, Magda (1986) Family Factors as Correlates and Predictors of Juvenile Conduct Problems and Delinquency. *Crime and Justice*. 29–149.
- Lord, R. G. et al. (1986) A Meta-Analysis of the Relation Between Personality Traits and Leadership Perceptions: An Application of Validity Generalization Procedures. *Journal of Applied Psychology*. 71 (3), 402–410.
- Lucas, J. R. (1993) *Responsibility*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lum, C. et al. (2006) Are Counter-Terrorism Strategies Effective? The Results of the Campbell Systematic Review on Counter-Terrorism Evaluation Research. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. 2 (4), 489–516.
- Lykken, D. T. (1995) *The Antisocial Personalities*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Available from: <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=26032642> (Accessed 29 May 2012).
- Lynch, J. W. et al. (1997) Why Do Poor People Behave Poorly? Variation in Adult Health Behaviours and Psychosocial Characteristics by Stages of the Socioeconomic Life course. *Social Science & Medicine*. 44 (6), 809–819.
- MacKenzie, D. layton & Goodstain, L. (1985) Long-Term Incarceration Impacts and Characteristics of Long-Term Offenders. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 12 (4), 395–414.
- Maile, J. et al. (2010) *Aggression in Terrorism- An Interdisciplinary Analyses of Terrorism*. Available from: [http://eprints.ucm.es/9995/2/353\\_CSP-Chapter\\_02.pdf](http://eprints.ucm.es/9995/2/353_CSP-Chapter_02.pdf) (Accessed 20 July 2012).
- Makarenko, T. (2004) The Crime–Terror Continuum: Tracing the Interplay between

- Transnational Organised Crime and Terrorism. *Global Crime*. 6 (1), 129–145.
- Maleckova, J. (2005) 'Impoverish Terrorists: Stereotype or Reality?' in Tore Bjørge (ed.) *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*. Routledge. pp. 33–43.
- Malik, O. (2000) *Enough of the Definition of Terrorism*. Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Malka, H. (2005) Forcing Choices: Testing the Transformation of Hamas. *The Washington Quarterly*. 28 (4), 37–53.
- Mandel, D. R. (In press) 'Radicalisation: What does it Mean?', in T Pick & A Speckhard (eds.) *Indigenous Terrorism: Understanding and addressing the Root Causes of Radicalisation among Groups with an Immigrant Heritage in Europe*. Amsterdam: IOS Press. Available from: <http://individual.utoronto.ca/mandel/Mandel-radicalization.pdf>
- Mann, R. D. (1959) A Review of the Relationships between Personality and Performance in Small Groups. *Psychological Bulletin*. 56 (4), 241–270.
- Mannes, A. (2008) Testing the Snake Head Strategy: Does Killing or Capturing its Leaders Reduce a Terrorist Group's Activity? *The Journal of International Policy Solutions*. 940–949.
- Marcus, I. & Zilberdik, N. J. (2011) *Abbas Glorifies Terrorist Prisoners*. Available from: [http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc\\_id=5794](http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=157&doc_id=5794).
- Martens, W. H. J. (2004) The Terrorist with Antisocial Personality Disorder. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*. 4 (1), 45–56.
- Marton, F. (1981) Phenomenography? Describing Conceptions of the World around Us. *Instructional Science*. 10 (2), 177–200.
- Marton, F. (1986) Phenomenography: A Research Approach to Investigating Different Understanding of Reality. *Journal of Thought*. 21 (3), 28–49.
- Massoglia, M. (2008) Incarceration, Health, and Racial Disparities in Health. *Law & Society Review*. 42 (2), 275–306.
- Matsakis, A. (2004) 'Trauma and its Impact on Families', in Donald Roy Catherall (ed.) *Handbook of Stress, Trauma, and the Family*. Routledge. pp. 12–27.
- Matthews, R. (1999) *Doing Time: An Introduction to the Sociology of Imprisonment*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2004) *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. SAGE.
- Mayer, S. E. & Jencks, C. (1989) Growing Up in Poor Neighbourhoods: How Much Does It Matter? *Science*. 243 (4897), 1441–1445.
- McCauley, C. (2004) 'Psychological Issues in Understanding Terrorism and the

- Response to Terrorism', in Chris E. Stout (ed.) *Psychology of Terrorism: Coping with the Continued Threat*. Greenwood Publishing Group. pp. 33–67.
- McCauley, C. & Moskalenko, S. (2008) Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation: Pathways toward Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 20 (3), 415–433.
- McCord, J. (1991) Family Relationships, Juvenile Delinquency and Adult Criminality. *Criminology*. 29 (3), 397–417.
- McCrae, R. R. (1987) Creativity, Divergent Thinking, and Openness to Experience. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 52 (6), 1258–1265.
- McCrae, R. R. & Costa, P. T. (1990) *Personality in Adulthood*. Guilford Publications.
- McDougall, W. (2003) *An Introduction to Social Psychology*. Courier Dover Publications.
- McHardy, A. (2000) *Terrorist Study Cells*. Available from: <http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?storyCode=149558&sectioncode=26>.
- Mead, M. (1950) *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New American Library. New York.
- Mead, M. (1953) *Growing Up in New Guinea*. New American Library. New York.
- Memri TV (2004) *Al-Qaeda Leader Ayman Al-Zawahiri's Interview to Al-Sahab (Part IV)*. 7 December. Available from: <http://www.memritv.org/clip/en/0/0/0/0/0/957.htm>.
- Merari, A. (2010) *Driven to Death: Psychological and Social Aspects of Suicide Terrorism*. Oxford University Press.
- Merari, A. (2005) 'Suicide Terrorism', in David Lester (ed.) *Assessment, Treatment, and Prevention of Suicidal Behaviour*. John Wiley and Sons. pp. 431–454.
- Mideastweb (2006) *Full Text of the Palestinian Prisoner's National Conciliation Document*. Available from: [http://www.mideastweb.org/prisoners\\_letter.htm](http://www.mideastweb.org/prisoners_letter.htm) (Accessed 24 February 2012).
- Miliora, M. T. (2004) The Psychology and Ideology of an Islamic Terrorist Leader: Usama bin Laden. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*. 1 (2), 121–139.
- Miller, L. (2006a) The Terrorist Mind. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 50 (2), 121–138.
- Miller, L. (2006b) The Terrorist Mind II. Typologies, Psychopathologies, and Practical Guidelines for Investigation. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. 50 (3), 255–268.
- Milton-Edwards, B. (2007) Hamas: Victory with Ballots and Bullets. *Global Change*,

- Peace & Security*. [Online] 19 (3), 301–316.
- Milton-Edwards, B. (1999) *Islamic Politics in Palestine*. I.B.Tauris.
- Milton-Edwards, B. (2008) The Ascendancy of Political Islam: Hamas and consolidation in the Gaza Strip. *Third World Quarterly*. 29 (8), 1585–1599.
- Minor, W. W. (1981) Techniques of Neutralization: a Reconceptualization and Empirical Examination. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*. 18 (2), 295–318.
- Mishal, S. & Rosenthal, M. (2005) Al Qaeda as a Dune Organization: Toward a Typology of Islamic Terrorist Organizations. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 28 (4), 275–293.
- Mishal, S. & Sela, A. (2006) *The Palestinian Hamas: Vision, Violence, And Coexistence*. Columbia University Press.
- Moghadam, A. (2009) 'Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organisational Aspects', in Jeff Victoroff & Arie W. Kruglanski (eds.) *Psychology of Terrorism: Classic and Contemporary Insights*. 1st edition New York and Hove: Psychology Press. pp. 119–143.
- Moghadam, A. (2003) Palestinian Suicide Terrorism in the Second Intifada: Motivations and Organizational Aspects. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 26 (2), 65–92.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2004) Patriarchy in Transition: Women and the Changing Family in the Middle East. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*. 35. 137–162.
- Moghaddam, F. M. (2006) *From the Terrorists' Point of View: What they Experience and why they come to Destroy*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Montgomery, M. R. & Casterline, J. B. (1996) Social Learning, Social Influence, and New Models of Fertility. *Population and Development Review*. 22. 151–175.
- Moran, D. (2005) *Edmund Husserl: Founder of Phenomenology*. Polity.
- Morgan, S. P. et al. (2002) Muslim and Non-Muslim Differences in Female Autonomy and Fertility: Evidence from Four Asian Countries. *Population and Development Review*. 28 (3), 515–537.
- Moser, D. J. et al. (2004) Coercion and Informed Consent in Research Involving Prisoners. *Comprehensive Psychiatry*. 45 (1), 1–9.
- Muller, D. A. (2000a) Criminal Profiling. *Homicide Studies*. 4 (3), 234–264.
- Muller, D. A. (2000b) Criminal Profiling Real Science or Just Wishful Thinking? *Homicide Studies*. 4 (3), 234–264.
- Mumford, M. D. et al. (2002) Leading Creative People: Orchestrating Expertise and Relationships. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 13 (6), 705–750.

- Munn, M. (2011) Living in the Aftermath: the Impact of Lengthy Incarceration on Post-Carceral Success. *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice*. 50 (3), 233–246.
- Murdock, G. P. (1949) *Social Structure*. New York and Hove: Macmillan.
- Murray, J. & Farrington, David P (2005) Parental Imprisonment: Effects on Boys' Antisocial Behaviour and Delinquency through the Life-Course. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. 46 (12), 1269–1278.
- Myers, D. G. (1999) *Social Psychology*. 6th edition. Mcgraw-Hill College.
- Myers, I. B. & McCaulley, M. H. (1985) *A Guide to the Development and the Use of the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator*. Palo Alto, Calif: Consulting Psychologists Press.
- Nashif, E. (2008) *Palestinian Political Prisoners: Identity and Community*. Taylor & Francis.
- Nesheiwat, F. K. (2004) Honour Crimes in Jordan: Their Treatment under Islamic and Jordanian Criminal Laws. *Penn State International Law Review*. 23252.
- Neumann, P. (2009) *Old and New Terrorism*. Polity Press.
- Neumann, P. (2008) 'Papers from the First International Conference on Radicalisation and Political Violence- Introduction.', in 17 January 2008 London: ICSR- International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation. pp. 3–7. Available from:  
<http://icsr.info/publications/papers/1234516938ICSRPerspectivesonRadicalisation.pdf>.
- Neumann, P. (2011) *Preventing Violent Radicalisation in America*. Available from:  
<http://www.bipartisanpolicy.org/sites/default/files/NSPG.pdf>.
- Neumann, P. (2010) *Prisons and Terrorism Radicalisation and De-radicalisation in 15 Countries*. Available from:  
<http://icsr.info/publications/papers/1277699166PrisonsandTerrorismRadicalisationandDeradicalisationin15Countries.pdf>.
- Newman, E. (2006) Exploring the 'Root Causes' of Terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 29. 749–772.
- Noller, P. & Fitzpatrick, M. A. (1993) *Communication in Family Relationships*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Nye, F. Ivan. (1958) *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behaviour*. Vol. xii. Oxford, England: John Wiley.
- Oberschall, A. (2004) Explaining Terrorism: The Contribution of Collective Action Theory. *Sociological Theory*. 22 (1), 26–37.
- Offer, Daniel & Offer, J. B. (1975) *From Teenage to Young Manhood: a*

*Psychological Study*. New York: Basic Books.

- Offer, D. & Schonert-Reichl, K. A. (1992) Debunking the Myths of Adolescence: Findings from Recent Research. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*. 31 (6), 1003–1014.
- Omran, A. R. (1992) *Family Planning in the Legacy of Islam*. 1st edition. Routledge.
- Oots, K. L. (1990) Bargaining with Terrorists: Organizational Considerations. *Terrorism*. 13 (2), 145–158.
- Ozer, Daniel J & Gjerde, P. F. (1989) Patterns of Personality Consistency and Change from Childhood through Adolescence. *Journal of Personality*. 57 (2), 483–507.
- Ozer, Daniel J & Benet-Martínez, V. (2006) Personality and the Prediction of Consequential Outcomes. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 57, 401–421.
- Padgett, D. K. (1998) *Qualitative Methods in Social Work Research: Challenges and Rewards*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Patenaude, A. L. (2004) No Promises, But I'm Willing to Listen and Tell What I Hear: Conducting Qualitative Research among Prison Inmates and Staff. *The Prison Journal*. 84 (4), 69–91.
- Paterline, B. A. & Petersen, D. M. (1999) Structural and Social Psychological Determinants of Prisonization. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 27 (5), 427–441.
- Peat, B. J. & Winfree, L. T. (1992) Reducing the Intra-Institutional Effects of 'Prisonization'. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 19 (2), 206 –225.
- Pedahzur, A. (2005) *Suicide Terrorism*. Cambridge : Polity Press.
- Perakyla, A. (2005) 'Analysing Talk and Text', in Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. third SAGE. pp. 869–886.
- Pervin, L. A. (1994) A Critical Analysis of Current Trait Theory. *Psychological Inquiry*. 5 (2), 103–113.
- Pervin, L. A. (1975) *Personality: Theory, Assessment, and Research*. 2nd edition. Wiley.
- Petersen, A. C. (1988) Adolescent Development. *Annual Review of Psychology*. 39. 583–607.
- Petherick, W. A. & Turvey, B. E. (2011) 'Criminal Profiling: Science, Logic and Cognition', in *Criminal Profiling: An Introduction to Behavioural Evidence Analysis*. Academic Press. pp. 42–65.
- Pilat, J. F. (2009) The causes of terrorism. *Organisational Transformation and Social Change*. 6 (2), 171–182.

- Pina, A. D. (2006) *Fatah and Hamas: The New Palestinian Factional Reality*. Available from: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA458970>.
- Pinizzotto, A. & Finkel, N. (1990) Criminal Personality Profiling. *Law and Human Behaviour*. 14 (3), 215–233.
- PMW (2012) *Shahada (Death for Allah) promotion*. Available from: <http://www.palwatch.org/main.aspx?fi=110> (Accessed 14 April 2012).
- Poe, E. A. (1887) *The Murders in the Rue Morgue: and other tales*. Worthington Company.
- Polivy, J. (1998) The Effects of Behavioural Inhibition: Integrating Internal Cues, Cognition, Behaviour, and Affect. *Psychological Inquiry*. 9 (3), 181–204.
- della Porta, D. (2009) 'Recruitment Processes in Clandestine Political Organisation: Italian Left-Wing Terrorism', in Jeff Victoroff & Arie W. Kruglanski (eds.) *Psychology of Terrorism: Classic and Contemporary Insights*. 1st edition New York and Hove: Psychology Press. pp. 307–316.
- Post, J. et al. (2003) The Terrorists in their Own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 15 (1), 171–184.
- Post, J. M. (2002) *Killing in the Name of God: Osama Bin Laden and Al Qaeda*. Available from: <http://stinet.dtic.mil/oai/oai?&verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA457552> (Accessed 28 June 2012).
- Post, J. M. (2004) *Leaders and Their Followers in a Dangerous World: The Psychology of Political Behaviour*. Cornell University Press.
- Post, J. M. (1984) Notes on a Psychodynamic Theory of Terrorist Behaviour. *Terrorism*. 7 (2), 241–256.
- Post, J. M. (1990) 'Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist Behaviour as a Product of Psychological forces', in Walter Reich (ed.) *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind*. Cambridge University Press.
- Post, J. M. (2007) *The Mind of the Terrorist: the Psychology of Terrorism from the IRA to Al-Qaeda*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Post, J. M. (2006) 'The Psychological Dynamics of Terrorism', in Louise Richardson (ed.) *The Roots of Terrorism*. CRC Press. pp. 17–28.
- Post, J. M. et al. (2009) The Psychology of Suicide Terrorism. *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes*. [Online] 72 (1), 13–31.
- Post, J. M. (2005a) 'The Socio-Cultural Underpinnings of Terrorist Psychology-When Hatred is Bred in the bone', in Tore Bjørge (ed.) *Root Causes of*

- Terrorism: Myths, Reality and Ways Forward*. Psychology Press.
- Post, J. M. (2005b) When Hatred is bred in the Bone: Psycho-cultural Foundations of Contemporary Terrorism. *Political Psychology*. 26 (4), 615–636.
- Price, B. C. (2009) *Removing the Devil You Know: Unravelling the Puzzle behind Decapitation Effectiveness and Terrorist Group Duration*. PhD thesis. USA: Stansford. Available from: <http://gradworks.umi.com/3382946.pdf>.
- Price, B. C. (2012) Targeting Top Terrorists: How Leadership Decapitation Contributes to Counterterrorism. *International Security*. 36 (4), 9–46.
- Punamäki, R. L. et al. (2001) Resiliency factors predicting psychological adjustment after political violence among Palestinian children. *International Journal of Behavioural Development*. 25 (3), 256–267.
- Qasim, A. (1986) *Introduction to the Political Imprisonment Experience in the Zionist prisons*. Beirut: al Umah House Press.
- Qouta, S. et al. (2008) Child development and Family Mental Health in War and Military Violence: the Palestinian Experience. *International Journal of Behavioural Development*. 32 (4), 310–321.
- Qouta, S. et al. (2007) Predictors of psychological distress and positive resources among Palestinian adolescents: Trauma, child, and mothering characteristics. *Child Abuse & Neglect*. 31 (7), 699–717.
- Qouta, S. et al. (2005) Mother-Child Expression of Psychological Distress in War Trauma. *Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. 10 (2), 135–156.
- Qouta, S. et al. (1997) Prison Experiences and Coping Styles among Palestinian Men. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*. 3. 19–36.
- Rabasa, A. et al. (2010) *De-radicalising Islamist Extremists*. Available from: [http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND\\_MG1053.pdf](http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG1053.pdf).
- Ramasubramanian, R. (2004) *Suicide Terrorism in Sri Lanka*.
- Ranstorp, M. (2007) *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps and Future Direction*. Taylor & Francis.
- Ranstorp, M. (1996) Terrorism in the Name of Religion. *Journal of International Affairs*. 50 (1), 41–63.
- Rapoport, D. C. (1971) *Assassination and Terrorism*. Toronto: CBC Merandising.
- Reed, M. D. & Rountree, P. W. (1997) Peer Pressure and Adolescent Substance Use. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*. 13 (2), 143–180.
- Reinares, F. (2009) 'Who are the Terrorists? Analysing Changes in Sociological Profile among Members of ETA', in Jeff Victoroff & Arie W. Kruglanski (eds.) *Psychology of terrorism- Classic and Contemporary Insights*.



- Psychology Press New York and Hove. pp. 227–246.
- Reisig, M. D. & Lee, Y. H. (2000) Prisonization in the Republic of Korea. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 28 (1), 23–31.
- Riley, J. (2002) The Pains of Imprisonment: Exploring a Classic Text with Contemporary Authors. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*. 13 (2), 443–461.
- Robins, R. W. et al. (1996) Resilient, Overcontrolled, and Undercontrolled Boys: Three Replicable Personality Types. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 70 (1), 157–171.
- Robinson, A. (2001) *Bin Laden: Behind the Mask of the Terrorist*. Mainstream Publishing.
- Roosa, M. W. et al. (2010) Neighbourhood Disadvantage, Stressful Life Events, and Adjustment among Mexican American Early Adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*. 30 (4), 567–592.
- Roosa, M. W. et al. (2003) Prevention Science and Neighbourhood Influences on Low-Income Children's Development: Theoretical and Methodological Issues. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. 31 (1-2), 55–72.
- Rosenfeld, M. (2004) *Confronting the Occupation: Work, Education, and Political Activism of Palestinian Families in a Refugee camp*. Stanford University Press.
- Rosenfeld, M. (2011) 'The Centrality of the Prisoners' Movement to the Palestinian Struggle against the Israeli Occupation: A Historical Perspective', in Abeer Baker & Anat Matar (eds.) *Threat: Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israel*. Pluto Press. pp. 3–24.
- Rost, J. C. (1993) *Leadership for the Twenty-First Century*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Rubin, B. (1999) *The Transformation of Palestinian Politics: From Revolution to State-Building*. Harvard University Press.
- Rubin, B. & Rubin, J. C. (2005) *Yasir Arafat: A Political Biography*. Oxford University Press.
- Ruby, C. L. (2002a) Are Terrorists Mentally Deranged? *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*. 2 (1), 15–26.
- Ruby, C. L. (2002b) The Definition of Terrorism. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*. 2 (1), 9–14.
- Russell, C. A. & Miller, B. H. (1977) Profile of a Terrorist. *Terrorism: An International Journal*. 1 (1), 17–34.
- Rutter, M. (1980) *Changing Youth in a Changing Society: Patterns of Adolescent*

- Development and Disorder*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Rutter, M. (1987) Psychosocial Resilience and Protective Mechanisms. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 57 (3), 316–331.
- Sachedina, Z. (1990) Islam, Procreation and the Law. *International Family Planning Perspectives*. 16 (3), 107–111.
- Sageman, M. (2008) 'The Turn to Political Violence in the West', in R. Coolsaet (ed.) *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe*. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd. pp. 117–130.
- Sageman, M. (2004) *Understanding Terror Networks*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Säljö, R. (1997) Talk as Data and Practice — A Critical Look at Phenomenographic Inquiry and the Appeal to Experience. *Higher Education Research & Development*. 16 (2), 173–190.
- Salo, J. A. et al. (2005) Adult Attachment, Posttraumatic Growth and Negative Emotions among Former Political Prisoners. *Anxiety, Stress & Coping: An International Journal*. 18 (4), 361–378.
- Sampson, R. J. et al. (2002) Assessing 'Neighbourhood Effects': Social Processes and New Directions in Research. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 28 (1), 443–478.
- Saul, B. (2005) Definition of 'Terrorism' in the UN Security Council: 1985–2004. *Chinese Journal of International Law*. 4 (1), 141–166.
- Sayigh, Y. (1997) *Armed Struggle and the Search for State: The Palestinian National Movement, 1949-1993*. Oxford University Press.
- Sayigh, Y. (2010) *Hamis Rule in Gaza: Three Years On*. Available from: <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB41.pdf>.
- Scarr, S. & Weinberg, R. A. (1978) The Influence of 'Family Background' on Intellectual Attainment. *American Sociological Review*. 43 (5), 674–692.
- Schaller, M. (2001) 'Unintended Influence, Social Evolutionary Processes in the Construction and Change of Culturally-Shared Beliefs', in Joseph P. Forgas & Kipling D. Williams (eds.) *Social influence: direct and indirect processes*. Psychology Press. pp. 77–95.
- Schanzer, J. (2003) The Challenge of Hamas to Fatah. *Middle East Quarterly*. X (2), 29–38.
- Schmemann, S. (1996) P.L.O. Ends Call for Destruction of Jewish State. *New York Times*. 25 April. Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1996/04/25/world/plo-ends-call-for-destruction-of-jewish-state.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm> (Accessed 6 August 2012).
- Schmid, Alex P. (1992) The Response Problem as a Definition Problem. *Terrorism*

*and Political Violence*. 4 (4), 7–13.

- Schmid, Alex P. (2011) *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*. Taylor & Francis.
- Schmid, Alex Peter & Jongman, A. J. (1988) *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, & Literature*. Transaction Publishers.
- Schnittker, J. & John, A. (2007) Enduring Stigma: The Long-Term Effects of Incarceration on Health. *Journal of Health and Social Behaviour*. 48 (2), 115–130.
- Schoon, I. & Parsons, S. (2002) Teenage Aspirations for Future Careers and Occupational Outcomes. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*. 60 (2), 262–288.
- Schulenberg, J. E. et al. (1984) The Influence of the Family on Vocational Development. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. 46 (1), 129–143.
- Schütz, A. (1967) *The Phenomenology of the Social World*. Northwestern University Press.
- Schweitzer, Y. & S. Goldstein Faber (2005) *Al-Qaeda and the Internationalization of Suicide Terrorism*. Memorandum No. 78, Tel Aviv: Jaffa Centre for Strategic Studies.
- Sedgwick, M. (2010) The Concept of Radicalization as a Source of Confusion. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 22. 479–494.
- Seifert, K. (2010) Can Jihadist Be Rehabilitated? *Middle East Quarterly*. XVII (2), 21–30.
- Shaked, R. (2008) The Security Prisoners in Israeli Prisons. *Roim Shabas*. 26–29.
- Shalev, T. (2011) *The Shalit Deal- the Cooperation of Germany, Turkey and Egypt*. Available from: <http://news.walla.co.il/?w=9/1868199> (Accessed 19 November 2011).
- Shallah, R. 'Abdallah & al-'Ayid, K. (1999) The Movement of Islamic Jihad and the Oslo Process. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 28 (4), 61–73.
- Shamir, B. et al. (1993) The Motivational Effect of Charismatic Leadership: A Self-Concept Based Theory. *Organisation Science*. 4 (4), 577–594.
- Shao, L. & Webber, S. (2006) A cross-Cultural Test of the 'Five-Factor Model of Personality and Transformational Leadership'. *Journal of Business Research*. 59 (8), 936–944.
- Shaw, Eric D (2003) Saddam Hussein: Political Psychological Profiling Results Relevant to His Possession, Use, and Possible Transfer of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) to Terrorist Groups. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. 26 (5), 347–364.

- Shaw, Eric D. (1986) Political Terrorists: Dangers of Diagnosis and an Alternative to the Psychopathology Model. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*. 8 (3), 359–368.
- Shelley, L. I. & Picarelli, J. T. (2002) Methods not Motives: Implications of the Convergence of International Organized Crime and Terrorism. *Police Practice and Research*. 3 (4), 305–318.
- Sherif, M. (1936) *The Psychology of Social Norms*. Oxford, England: Harper.
- Shlaim, A. (1994) The Oslo Accord. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 23 (3), 24–40.
- Shone, R. & Spender, N. (2008) *Solving Crimes Through Criminal Profiling*. Rosen Classroom.
- Shragai, N. (1996) An Internal Fatah Publication: the Palestinian Charter did not Go through any Change. *Ha'aretz*. 22 April.
- Shrivastava, R. S. (1974) The Inmate Elite: Social Stratification among Prison Inmates. *The Indian Journal of Social Work*. 34. 387–393.
- Shucksmith, J. et al. (1995) Models of Parenting: Implications for Adolescent Well-Being within Different Types of Family Contexts. *Journal of Adolescence*. 18 (3), 253–270.
- Silke, Andrew (2001) The Devil You Know: Continuing Problems with Research on Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 13 (4), 1–14.
- Silke, Andrew (1998) Cheshire-cat Logic: The Recurring Theme of Terrorist Abnormality in Psychological Research. *Psychology, Crime & Law*. 4 (1), 51–69.
- Silke, Andrew (2008) Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalisation. *European Journal of Criminology*. 5(1), 99 –123.
- Silke, Andrew (2003) *Terrorists, Victims and Society: Psychological Perspectives on Terrorism and its Consequences*. Wiley.
- Silke, Andrew (2011) *The Psychology of Counter-Terrorism*. Taylor & Francis.
- Slosar, J. A. (1978) *Prisonization, Friendship, and Leadership*. Lexington Books.
- Smelser, N. J. (2007) *The Faces of Terrorism: Social and Psychological Dimensions*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, P. et al. (2001) War Exposure and Maternal Reactions in the Psychological Adjustment of Children from Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*. [Online] 42 (3), 395–404.
- Soibelman, M. (2004) Palestinian Suicide Bombers. *Journal of Investigative Psychology and Offender Profiling*. 1 (3), 175–190.

- Somfalvi, A. (2011) *Cabinet Approves Shalit deal*. Available from: <http://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4134408,00.html> (Accessed 19 November 2011).
- Spencer, M. E. (1973) What Is Charisma? *The British Journal of Sociology*. 24 (3), 341–354.
- Staddon, J. (1999) 'On Responsibility in Science and Law', in Ellen Frankel Paul & Fred D Miller (eds.) *Responsibility*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 146–174.
- Stares, P. B. & Yacoubian, M. (2006) 'Unconventional Approaches to an Unconventional Threat: A Counter-Epidemic Strategy', in K.M Campbell & W Darsie (eds.) *Mapping the jihadist threat: The war on terror since 9/11. A report of the Aspen Strategy Group*. Queenstown, MD: The Aspen Institute. pp. 85–95. Available from: [http://www.usip.org/files/stares\\_yacoubian\\_threat.pdf](http://www.usip.org/files/stares_yacoubian_threat.pdf).
- Steffoff, R. (1988) *Yasir Arafat*. Chelsea House.
- Steurer, S. J. et al. (2001) *Three State Recidivism Study*. Available from: <http://www.acea.org.au/Content/2001%20papers/Dr%20Steve%20Steurer%20-%20Paper.PDF>.
- Stogdill, R.M. & Bass, B. M. (1990) *Handbook of Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research*. 3rd Revised edition. The Free Press.
- Stogdill, Ralph M. (1948) Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature. *The Journal of Psychology*. 25 (1), 35–71.
- Stogdill, Ralph Melvin (1974) *Handbook of Leadership: a Survey of Theory and Research*. Free Press.
- Stout, C. E. (2002a) *The Psychology of Terrorism: Clinical aspects and responses*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Stout, C. E. (2002b) *The Psychology of Terrorism: Theoretical Understandings and Perspectives*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Stracke, N. (2010) Arab Prisons: A Place for Dialogue and Reform. *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 1 (4). Available from: <http://terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/15/html> (Accessed 6 December 2011).
- Sussman, M. B. & Burchinal, L. (1962) Kin Family Network: Unheralded Structure in Current Conceptualizations of Family Functioning. *Marriage and Family Living*. 24 (3), 231–240.
- Sutherland, E. H. (1973) *On Analysing Crime*. Karl F. Schuessler (ed.). University of Chicago Press.
- Sutherland, E. H. (1947) *Principles of Criminology*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

- Sutherland, E. H. et al. (1995) 'The Theory of Differential Association', in Nancy J. Herman (ed.) *Deviance: A Symbolic Interactionist Approach*. Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 64–71.
- Svensson, L. (1997) Theoretical Foundations of Phenomenography. *Higher Education Research & Development*. 16 (2), 159–171.
- Sykes, Gresham M. & Matza, D. (1957) Techniques of Neutralization: A Theory of Delinquency. *American Sociological Review*. 22 (6), 664–670.
- Sykes, Gresham McCready (1958) *Society of Captives: Study of a Maximum Security Prison*. Princeton University Press.
- Sykes, Gresham McCready & Messinger, S. L. (1960) The Inmate Social Code and its Functions. *Social Science Research Council*. 15. 401–405.
- Tamimi, A. (2007) *Hamas: Unwritten Chapters*. C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd.
- Tan, A. (2002) Terrorism in Singapore: Threat and Implications. *Contemporary Security Policy*. 23 (3), 1–18.
- Taspinar, O. (2009) Fighting Radicalism, not 'Terrorism': Root Causes of an International Actor Redefined. *SAIS Review*. 29 (2), 75–86.
- Taylor, M. (1988) *The Terrorist*. Brassey's Defence Publishers.
- Tedeschi, R. G. & Calhoun, L. G. (2004) Posttraumatic Growth: Conceptual Foundations and Empirical Evidence. *Psychological Inquiry*. 15 (1), 1–18.
- Tedeschi, R. G. & Calhoun, L. G. (1996) The Posttraumatic Growth Inventory: Measuring the Positive Legacy of Trauma. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*. 9 (3), 455–471.
- Tennant, C. (2000) 'Prisoners of War', in George Fink (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of stress*. Academic Press.
- The Washington Times (2004) Prisons breeding ground for terror? *The Washington Times*. 5 May. Available from: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2004/may/5/20040505-111705-4604r/> (Accessed 27 November 2012).
- Tosini, D. (2007) Sociology of Terrorism and Counterterrorism: A Social Science Understanding of Terrorist Threat. *Sociology Compass*. 1 (2), 664–681.
- Travis, J. (2003) *Prisoners Once Removed: the Impact of Incarceration and Re-entry on Children, Families, and Communities*. The Urban Institute.
- Trotsky, L. (1920) *Terrorism and Communism Dictatorship vs. Democracy*. Vol. 1. New York: Worker Party of America. Available from: [www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky](http://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky).
- Turk, A. T. (2004) Sociology of Terrorism. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 30. 271–286.

- Turner, M. (2006) Building Democracy in Palestine: Liberal Peace Theory and the Election of Hamas. *Democratization*. 13 (5), 739–755.
- Turvey, B. E. (2011) *Criminal Profiling: An Introduction to Behavioural Evidence Analysis*. Academic Press.
- UN (2008) *First Report of the Working Group on Radicalisation and Extremism that Lead to Terrorism: Inventory of State Programmes*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/terrorism/pdfs/radicalization.pdf>.
- UN (2012a) *Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, CTITF*. Available from: [http://www.un.org/en/terrorism/ctitf/proj\\_counteringappeal.shtml](http://www.un.org/en/terrorism/ctitf/proj_counteringappeal.shtml).
- UN (2012b) *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism*. Available from: <http://www.un.org/terrorism/background.shtml>.
- Unrwa (2012) *UNRWA-Dheisheh Refugee Camp*. Available from: <http://www.unrwa.org/etemplate.php?id=113> (Accessed 28 February 2012).
- Useem, B. & Clayton, O. (2009) Radicalization of U.S. Prisoners. *Criminology & Public Policy*. 8 (3), 561–592.
- Usher, G. (1995) *Palestine in Crisis: The Struggle for Peace and Political Independence*. Pluto Press.
- Vaysman, L. (2009) The Government Decided: Worsening the Conditions of Security Prisoners in Israel. *Globes*. 29 March. Available from: <http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000438687>.
- Veldhuis, T. & Jørgen, S. (2009) *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model*. Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.
- Veldhuis, T. & Staun, J. (2009) *Islamist Radicalisation: A Root Cause Model*. Available from: [http://www.diis.dk/graphics/\\_IO\\_indsatsomraader/Religion\\_og\\_social\\_konflikt\\_og\\_Mellemsten/Islamist%20Radicalisation.Veldhuis%20and%20Staun.pdf](http://www.diis.dk/graphics/_IO_indsatsomraader/Religion_og_social_konflikt_og_Mellemsten/Islamist%20Radicalisation.Veldhuis%20and%20Staun.pdf).
- Vertigans, S. (2009) *Militant Islam: a Sociology of Characteristics, Causes and Consequences*. New York: Routledge.
- Victoroff, J. (2005) The Mind of the Terrorist: A Review and Critique of Psychological Approaches. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 49 (1), 3–42.
- Victoroff, J. I. (2006) *Tangled Roots: Social and Psychological Factors in the Genesis of Terrorism*. IOS Press.
- Victoroff, J. & Kruglanski, A. W. (2009) *Psychology of Terrorism: Classic and Contemporary Insights*. 1st edition. Psychology Press.
- Virtser, A. (2005) *Security Prisoners Incarcerated in the Israeli Prison System*. Available from: <http://www.ips.gov.il/NR/rdonlyres/64FFF90C-4D22-43EE-A87B-7318EAE7048D/0/bitchoneemnet.pdf>.

- Vitello, C. J. (2003) Stalking Laws, Therapeutic Jurisprudence, and Peacemaking Criminology: A Radical Law-Psychology Inquiry. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*. [Online] 3 (2), 1–37.
- Voglis, P. (2002) *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War*. Berghahn Books.
- Vogt, E. (2008) *Terrorists in Prisons: The Challenge Facing Corrections*. Available from: [http://www.icpa.ca/tools/download/622/Terrorists\\_in\\_Prison.pdf](http://www.icpa.ca/tools/download/622/Terrorists_in_Prison.pdf).
- Van de Voorde, C. (2005) Sri Lankan Terrorism: Assessing and responding to the Threat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). *Police Practice and Research*. 6 (2), 181–199.
- Walker, N. (1983) Side-Effects of Incarceration. *British Journal of Criminology*. 23 (1), 61–71.
- Waller, N. G. & Ben Porath, Y. S. (1987) Is It Time for Clinical Psychology to Embrace the Five-Factor Model of Personality? *American Psychologist*. 42 (9), 887–889.
- Walpole, M. (2003) Socioeconomic Status and College: How SES Affects College Experiences and Outcomes. *The Review of Higher Education*. 27 (1), 45–73.
- Walter, C. (2004) *Terrorism as a Challenge for National and International Law: Security versus Liberty?* Springer.
- Walter, C. L. (1943) *A Psychological Analysis of Adolph Hitler his Life and Legend*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Strategic Services. Available from: <http://6profu.ro/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2011/05/A-psychological-analysis-of-Adolf-Hitler-his-life-and-legend.pdf>.
- Warnes, R. & Hannah, G. (2008) Meeting the Challenge of Extremist and Radicalized Prisoners: The Experiences of the United Kingdom and Spain. *Policing*. 2 (4), 402–411.
- Weber, M. (1978) *Economy and Society: an Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. University of California Press.
- Weber, M. & Whimster, S. (2004) *The Essential Weber: A Reader*. Routledge.
- Webster, P. S. et al. (1995) Effects of Childhood Family Background on Adult Marital Quality and Perceived Stability. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 101 (2), 404–432.
- Weinberg, L., Pedahzur, A., et al. (2004) The Challenges of Conceptualizing Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. 16 (4), 777–794.
- Weingarten, K. (2004) Witnessing the Effects of Political Violence in Families: Mechanisms of Intergenerational Transmission and Clinical Interventions. *Journal of Marital and Family Therapy*. 30 (1), 45–59.



- Weiss, T. (2002) Posttraumatic Growth in Women with Breast Cancer and Their Husbands. *Journal of Psychosocial Oncology*. 20 (2), 65–80.
- Wellford, C. (1967) Factors Associated with Adoption of the Inmate Code: A Study of Normative Socialization. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*. 58 (2), 197–203.
- West, D. J. (1963) *The Habitual Prisoner*. Cambridge Studies of Criminology. London: Macmillan.
- Western, B. et al. (2001) The Labour Market Consequences of Incarceration. *Crime & Delinquency*. 47 (3), 410–427.
- White, K. R. (1982) The Relation Between Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement. *Psychological Bulletin*. 91 (3), 461–481.
- Wilkinson, P. (1988) 'Support Mechanisms in International Terrorism', in Robert Owen Slater & Michael Stohl (eds.) *Current perspectives on international terrorism*. New York: St. Martin Press. pp. 88–115.
- Wilson, P. et al. (1997) Validity, Utility and Ethics of Profiling for Serial Violent and Sexual Offenders. *Psychiatry, Psychology, and Law*. 412.
- Wilson, T. D. et al. (2000) A Model of Dual Attitudes. *Psychological Review*. 107 (1), 101–126.
- Wilson, W. J. (1987) *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Winston, B. E. & Patterson, K. (2006) An Integrative Definition of Leadership. *International Journal of Leadership Studies*. 1 (2), 6–66.
- Winter, D. G. (2005) Things I've Learned about Personality from Studying Political Leaders at a Distance. *Journal of Personality*. 73 (3), 557–584.
- Witte, A. D. & Witt, R. (2000) Crime Causation: Economic Theories. *Encyclopedia of Crime and Justice*. 1–17.
- Wormith, J. S. (1984) Attitude and Behaviour Change of Correctional Clientele. *Criminology*. 22 (4), 595–618.
- Yagna, Y. et al. (2012) Gaza rocket directly hits home in southern Israel; Iron Dome intercepts missile in Netivot for first time. *Haaretz.com*. 20 June. Available from: <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/gaza-rocket-directly-hits-home-in-southern-israel-iron-dome-intercepts-missile-in-netivot-for-first-time-1.439928> (Accessed 20 October 2012).
- Yang, B. et al. (1992) Sociological and economic theories of suicide: A comparison of the U.S.A. and Taiwan. *Social Science & Medicine*. 34 (3), 333–334.
- Yapp, M. E. (2004) Islam and Islamism. *Middle Eastern Studies*. 40 (2), 161–182.

- Yehoshua, S. (2011) Terrorist Profiling: Analysing our Adversaries Personalities. *Aviation Security International* 17 (4) p.20–23.
- Yehoshua, S. (2009) Personality Profile of Terrorist Leaders in Prison, *Window to Prison- Theory and Practice*, IPS: Press office. 12, 104-116. (In Hebrew)
- Ynet news (2012) *News from Israel, Ynetnews - Operation Pillar of Defence* [online]. Available from: <http://www.ynetnews.com/home/0,7340,L-10544,00.html> (Accessed 26 November 2012).
- Yochelson, S. & Samenow, S. E. (1976) *The Criminal Personality: A Profile for Change*. Vol. 1. New York: J. Aronson.
- Yoshikawa, H. (1994) Prevention as Cumulative Protection: Effects of Early Family's Support and Education on Chronic Delinquency and its Risks. *Psychological Bulletin*. 115 (1), 28–54.
- Yukl, G. (1999) An Evaluation of Conceptual Weaknesses in Transformational and Charismatic Leadership Theories. *The Leadership Quarterly*. 10 (2), 285–305.
- Yule, W. (2002) Alleviating the Effects of War and Displacement on Children. *Traumatology*. 8(3), 160 –180.
- Zahid, M. (2012) *The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis: The Politics of Liberalisation and Reform in the Middle East*. I.B.Tauris.
- Zamble, E. (1992) Behaviour and Adaptation in Long-Term Prison Inmates. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 19 (4), 409 –425.
- Zamble, E. & Porporino, F. (1990) Coping, Imprisonment, and Rehabilitation. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*. 17 (1), 53 –70.
- Zastrow, C. H. & Kirst-Ashman, K. K. (2004) *Understanding Human Behaviour and the Social Environment*. Sixth. Belmont, CA: Thomson- Brooks/ Cole.
- Zerssen, D. et al. (1988) The Munich personality test (MPT) — a short questionnaire for self-rating and relatives' rating of personality traits: Formal properties and clinical potential. *European Archives of Psychiatry and Clinical Neuroscience*. 238 (2), 73–93.
- Zuhur, S. (2008) *Hamas and Israel: Conflicting Strategies of Group-Based Politics*. Strategic Studies Institute.
- Zweiri, M. (2006) The Hamas Victory: Shifting Sands or Major Earthquake? *Third World Quarterly*. 27 (4), 675–687.

**Appendix no.1:** Ethical approval document- Bar-Ilan University

Bar-Ilan University  
אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

Faculty of Social Sciences  
Department of Criminology

הפקולטה למדעי החברה  
המחלקה לקרימינולוגיה

Tuesday, October 16, 2012

To whom it may concern,

As Ms Sagit Yehoshua's supervisor during her PhD studies, and as the head of the Department of Criminology at Bar-Ilan University, Israel, at the time, I am writing to confirm that Ms. Yehoshua had indeed applied and received the approval of the department's ethics committee for her research.

Ms Yehoshua's study demanded the collaboration of the Israeli Prison Service (IPS) as it involved the participation of security prisoners as interviewees. To receive the IPS's formal approval Ms Yehoshua submitted an official application to the IPS on 20 July 2005. An internal IPS committee, comprising of Brigadier General (Ret) Betty Lahat, IPS head of Intelligence, Lt. Colonel Gavriel Yehuda, IPS head of terrorism threats devotion and Lt. Colonel Dr. Yehoshua Weiss, head of IPS research division, formally authorized the research and approved its methodology.

Following this, Ms. Yehoshua's research proposal was approved both by the Criminology Department and by the department's ethical approval committee, on 16 January 2006. The committee members, Prof. Gerald Cromer and Dr. Uri Timor, approved Ms. Yehoshua's proposed line of questions. These were mostly open questions regarding the interviewees' life and general perceptions. Another external tool which was approved was the application of Hare psychopathology check list- PCL-SV.

Tel: 03 5318221/241 • טל: • Fax: 03 7384038 • פקס • [criminology.dept@mail.biu.ac.il](mailto:criminology.dept@mail.biu.ac.il) • [www.criminology.biu.ac.il](http://www.criminology.biu.ac.il)

Bar-Ilan University (RA), Ramat Gan 52900, Israel • [www.biu.ac.il](http://www.biu.ac.il) • ישראל • 52900, רמת גן (ע"ר), דמות גן 52900, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן



Bar-Ilan University  
אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

Faculty of Social Sciences  
Department of Criminology

הפקולטה למדעי החברה  
המחלקה לקרימינולוגיה

The committee also discussed other aspects of the research, such as the security measures that should be taken by the IPS to ensure Ms Yehoshua's safety. These included establishing a communication mechanism such as a security button, an intercom or an alarm button between the interview's venues and the prison's HQ

The interviewee's safety and their interests were considered as well. Under the conditions detailed below it was decided to approve the research: participation in the research will be exclusively voluntary, anonymity will be guaranteed, and information shared with the researcher will not be made available to the IPS authorities. The committee also approved the wording of the letter of consent proposed by Ms. Yehoshua. This letter was to be signed by Ms. Yehoshua and each interviewee before the commencement of each interview and after the establishment of all the relevant facts.

I hereby guarantee that every measure was taken both by Ms Yehoshua and by the department's ethical approval committee to ensure that this research would meet the highest ethical research standards.

Prof. Sarah Ben David,

Department of Criminology,

Bar-Ilan University

**Appendix no 2:** IPS Research approval



Israel Prison Service

July 20, 2005

To Ms. Sagit Yehoshua

Research approval

We are happy to inform you that the Israeli Prison Service (IPS) Commander approves the carrying out of your research regarding the leadership of security prisoners, conditioned to the compliance are the following conditions:

- The approval of a relevant academic institution.
- Publication in any library or other means of publication will be allowed only with preliminary approval.
- Interviews will be conducted with the approval of the intelligence department.
- Each prisoner interviewed must sign a confidentiality statement prior to the interview.

We wish you the best of luck in your research!

Yifat Vahaba

pp. Dr. Yehoshua Wiess

**Appendix no 3:** Prisoners consent form

Israel Prison Service

IPS- Research department

**Prisoner Declaration to Participate in Research Project**

I, signed below \_\_\_\_\_

Full name and prisoner number

1. Declare and approve my participation out of my own free and good will, in a research regarding the subject of: ***The characteristics of security prisoners leaders*** conducted by the researcher: *Ms. Sagit Yehoshua*
2. I declare that I am willing to be interviewed and to answer verbally or in writing the questions which the researcher will present to me.
3. I am aware that the research is anonymous
4. I declare that I will not have any future claims against the IPS or the researcher with regards to my participation in this research or for anything relating to it.

---

 Date

---

 Prisoner Signature

**Appendix 4:** Email conformation for registration as signatory to the Code of

Conduct for Serendipitous Research at KCL:

14 October 2011 10:23 Patterson, James [james.2.patterson@kcl.ac.uk] on behalf of  
kcl - sshl [sshl@kcl.ac.uk]

Dear Sagit,

Thank you for your e-mail.

I am pleased to confirm that you are registered as a signatory to the  
Code of Conduct for Serendipitous Research.

Yours sincerely,

*James Patterson  
Senior Research Ethics Officer  
Research Ethics Office  
King's College London  
5.11 Franklin-Wilkins Building  
(Waterloo Bridge Wing)  
Stamford Street  
LONDON SE1 9NH*

*Telephone: 020-7848-4077*

*E-mail: [james.2.patterson@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:james.2.patterson@kcl.ac.uk)*

**Appendix 5:** Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance from 1948**פקודת מניעת טרור****רבדים בחקיקה**

עונשין ומשפט פלילי – עבירות – עבירות ביטחוניות

בטחון – טרור – מניעת טרור

**תוכן ענינים**

351	<a href="#">Go</a>		1
351	<a href="#">Go</a>		2
351	<a href="#">Go</a>		3
351	<a href="#">Go</a>		4
351	<a href="#">Go</a>		5
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		6
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		7
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		8
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		9
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		10
352	<a href="#">Go</a>	—	11
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		22
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		23
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		24
352	<a href="#">Go</a>		25



## פקודת מניעת טרור\*

מס' 33 לש' תש"ח-1948

מועצת המדינה הזמנית מחוקקת בזה לאמור:

1. "ארגון טרוריסטי" פירושו חבר אנשים המשתמש בפעולותיו במעשי אלימות העלולים לגרום למותו של אדם או לחבלתו, או באיומים במעשי אלימות כאלה;
2. "חבר בארגון טרוריסטי" פירושו אדם הנמנה עליו, וכולל אדם המשתתף בפעולותיו, המפרסם דברי תעמולה לטובת ארגון טרוריסטי, פעולותיו או מטרותיו, או אוסף כספים או חפצים לטובת ארגון טרוריסטי או פעולותיו.
3. אדם הממלא תפקיד בהנהלה או בהדרכה של ארגון טרוריסטי, או משתתף בדיוניו או בקבלת החלטותיו של ארגון טרוריסטי, או משמש חבר בבית דין של ארגון טרוריסטי, או נואם תעמולה באסיפה פומבית או ברדיו מטעם ארגון טרוריסטי, ייאשם בעבירה, ובצאתו חייב בדין, יהא צפוי לעונש מאסר עד עשרים שנה.
4. אדם שהוא חבר בארגון טרוריסטי, ייאשם בעבירה, ובצאתו חייב בדין, יהא צפוי לעונש מאסר עד חמש שנים.
4. אדם –
- (א) (בוטל);
- (ב) המפרסם, בכתב או בעל פה, דברי שבח, אהדה או קריאה לעזרה או תמיכה בארגון טרוריסטי; או
- (ג) המחזיק לטובת ארגון טרוריסטי בחומר תעמולה; או
- (ד) הנותן כסף או שווה כסף לטובת ארגון טרוריסטי; או
- (ה) המעמיד לרשות משהו מקום כדי שמקום זה ישמש לארגון טרוריסטי או לחבריו, בקביעות או בהזדמנות מסויימת, מקום של פעולה, פגישה, תעמולה או מחסן; או
- (ו) המעמיד לרשות משהו חפץ כדי שחפץ זה ישמש לארגון טרוריסטי או לחבר בארגון טרוריסטי בביצוע פעולה מטעם הארגון הטרוריסטי;
- (ז) או העושה מעשה שיש בו גילוי של הזדהות עם ארגון טרוריסטי או אהדה אליו, בהנפת דגל, בהצגת סמל או סיסמה או בהשמעת המנון או סיסמה, או כל מעשה גלוי דומה המגלה בבירור הזדהות או אהדה כאמור, והכל במקום ציבורי או באופן שאנשים הנמצאים במקום ציבורי יכולים לראות או לשמוע גילוי כזה של הזדהות או אהדה;
- (ח) (בוטל);
- ייאשם בעבירה, ובצאתו חייב בדין, יהא צפוי לעונש מאסר עד שלוש שנים או לקנס עד 1000 לירות או לשני העונשים גם יחד.
5. (א) כל רכוש של ארגון טרוריסטי, גם אם נרכש לפני פרסום פקודה זו בעתון הרשמי, יוחרם לטובת המדינה בפקודת בית משפט מחוזי.

פירושים

פעילות בארגון טרוריסטי

חברות בארגון טרוריסטי

תמיכה בארגון טרוריסטי  
(תיקון מס' 4)  
תשס"ב-2002

(תיקון מס' 1)  
תשס"ז-1980

(תיקון מס' 3)  
תשנ"ג-1993  
(תיקון מס' 3)  
תשנ"ג-1993

החרמת רכוש

\* פורסמה ע"ר מס' 24 מיום 29.9.1948, תוס' א', עמ' 73.

תוקנה ס"ח תש"ם מס' 980 מיום 5.8.1980 עמ' 187 (ה"ח תש"ם מס' 1467 עמ' 296) – תיקון מס' 1.

ס"ח תשמ"ו מס' 1191 מיום 13.8.1986 עמ' 219 (ה"ח תשמ"ה מס' 1742 עמ' 248) – תיקון מס' 2.

ס"ח תשנ"ג מס' 1410 מיום 27.1.1993 עמ' 46 (ה"ח תשנ"ג מס' 2148 עמ' 32) – תיקון מס' 3.

ס"ח תשס"ב מס' 1845 מיום 22.5.2002 עמ' 411 (ה"ח תשס"ב מס' 3082 עמ' 286) – תיקון מס' 4 בסעיף 3 לחוק העונשין (תיקון מס' 66), תשס"ב-2002.

ס"ח תשס"ה מס' 2020 מיום 8.8.2005 עמ' 746 (ה"ח הממשלה תשס"ד מס' 77 עמ' 298) – תיקון מס' 5 (במקור מס' 4) בסעיף 25 לחוק בתי משפט לעניינים מינהליים (תיקון מס' 15), תשס"ה-2005.

(ב) כל רכוש הצפוי להחרמה לפי סעיף זה, יעוקל לפי החלטה בכתב של המפקח הכללי של משטרת ישראל.

(תיקון מס' 1)  
תש"ס-1980

(ג) כל רכוש הנמצא במקום המשמש לארגון טרוריסטי או לחבריו, בקביעות או בהזדמנות מסויימת, מקום של פעולה, פגישה, תעמולה או מחסן, וכן כל רכוש הנמצא בחזקתו או ברשותו של חבר בארגון טרוריסטי, ייחשב לרכושו של ארגון טרוריסטי, אלא אם יוכח ההיפך.

6. (א) המפקח הכללי של משטרת ישראל, רשאי להחליט בכתב לסגור כל מקום המשמש לארגון טרוריסטי או לחבריו, בקביעות או בהזדמנות מסויימת, מקום של פעולה, פגישה, תעמולה או מחסן; משניתנה החלטה כאמור, רשאי כל מפקח משטרה לבצעה.

טגירת מקומות פעולה  
וכו' של ארגון  
טרוריסטי

(תיקון מס' 1)

(ב) (בוטל).

(תיקון מס' 5)  
תשס"ה-2005

7. כדי להוכיח, בכל דיון משפטי, שחבר אנשים מסויים הוא ארגון טרוריסטי, יספיק להוכיח כי –

הוכחה על קיום ארגון  
טרוריסטי

(א) מטעם אותו חבר אנשים או בפקודתו ביצע אחד או יותר מחבריו בכל זמן שהוא לאחר ה' באייר תש"ח (14 במאי 1948) מעשי אלימות העלולים לגרום למותו של אדם או לחבלתו, או איומים במעשי אלימות כאלה; או

(ב) חבר האנשים, או אחד או יותר מחבריו מטעמו או בפקודתו, הכריז שאותו חבר אנשים אחראי למעשי אלימות העלולים לגרום למותו של אדם או לחבלתו, או לאיומים במעשי אלימות כאלה, או שהכריז שחבר האנשים היה מעורב במעשי אלימות או איומים כאלה, בתנאי שמעשי האלימות או האיומים נעשו אחרי ה' באייר תש"ח (14 במאי 1948).

8. אם תכריז הממשלה, בהודעה ברשומות, שחבר אנשים מסויים הנו ארגון טרוריסטי, תשמש ההודעה הוכחה בכל דיון משפטי, כי אותו חבר אנשים הוא ארגון טרוריסטי, אלא אם יוכח ההיפך.

הכרזת הממשלה על  
ארגון כארגון  
טרוריסטי

9. (א) אם יוכח שאדם היה בכל זמן שהוא לאחר ה' באייר תש"ח (14 במאי 1948) חבר בארגון טרוריסטי מסויים, ייחשב אותו אדם לחבר באותו ארגון טרוריסטי, אלא אם יוכח שחדל מלהיות חבר בו.

הוכחה על חברות  
בארגון טרוריסטי

(ב) אדם הנמצא במקום אשר משמש לארגון טרוריסטי או לחבריו מקום של פעולה, פגישה או מחסן, ייחשב לחבר בארגון טרוריסטי, אלא אם יוכח שמסיבות הימצאו באותו מקום אינן מצדיקות מסקנה זו.

10. לשם הרשעתו של נאשם לפי פקודה זו, וכן לצרכי החרמתו של רכוש לפי פקודה זו, מותר לקבל כל דבר שנראה מתוכו כי פורסם על ידי ארגון טרוריסטי או מטעמו, בכתב או בעל פה, כראיה לעובדות שהובאו בו.

הוכחה על ידי פרסום  
של ארגון טרוריסטי

11. אם נקבע בפסק דין סופי כי חבר אנשים מסויים הנו ארגון טרוריסטי, ייחשב פסק הדין בכל דיון משפטי אחר ראיה לכאורה שאותו חבר אנשים הנו ארגון טרוריסטי.

פסק דין – ראיה  
לכאורה

12. עד 21. (בוטל).

(תיקון מס' 1)  
חוז"ח-1980

(תיקון מס' 1)  
תש"ס-1980

22. תקנות-שעת-חרום למניעת טרור, תש"ח-1948, בטלות, אולם ביטולן אינו פוגע בכל הכרזה או הודעה שניתנה או פעולה אחרת שנעשתה על פיהן ואינו מפטר אדם מעונש שהוא התחייב בו על פיהן.

ביטול

23. שר המשפטים ממונה על ביצוע פקודה זו, והוא רשאי להתקין תקנות בכל ענין הנוגע לביצועה.

ביצוע ותקנות

(תיקון מס' 1)  
תש"ס-1980

24. פקודה זו לא תחול אלא בתקופה שקיים במדינה מצב של חירום בתוקף אכרזה לפי סעיף 9 לפקודת סדרי השלטון והמשפט, תש"ח-1948.

תחולה

25. פקודה זו תיקרא בשם "פקודת מניעת טרור, תש"ח-1948".

(תיקון מס' 1)  
תש"ס-1980  
שם

י"ט באלול תש"ח (23 בספטמבר 1948) דוד בן-גוריון פליכס רוזנבליט  
ראש הממשלה ושר הבטחון שר המשפטים

**Appendix 6:** PCL-SV item description**Item Descriptions**

The PCL:SV items are defined below. These definitions are brief, comprising a number of simple statements ordered roughly in descending order of importance and frequency (prototypicality). However, as discussed earlier, raters should not use the item definitions as a simple checklist. Instead, they should use the entire item description to form an impression (prototype) in their minds, then compare the individual being rated to the prototype. Once raters have assessed someone who matches an item description very well, that individual can serve as an exemplar for the item; it may be helpful to conjure up a mental image of that person while rating the item in question. Also, because PCL:SV items are derived from the twenty-item PCL-R, the user would benefit from familiarization with the scoring criteria from the PCL-R items.

**Item 1: Superficial**

This item describes an individual whose interactional style appears superficial (i.e., glib) to others. Usually, the individual tries to make a favorable impression on others by “shamming” emotions, telling stories that portray him/her in a good light, and making unlikely excuses for undesirable behaviors. He/she may use unnecessary — frequently inappropriate — jargon. Despite its superficiality, the individual’s style may be considered engaging. Alternatively, the individual may try to impress others by appearing sullen, hostile, or “macho.” Still, the key aspect is that this presentation appears affected and superficial. Both types of individuals are “slippery” in conversation; when challenged with facts that contradict their statements or with inconsistencies in their statements, they simply change their stories.

**Item 2: Grandiose**

Individuals who score high on this item are often described as grandiose or as braggarts. They have an inflated view of themselves and their abilities. They appear self-assured and opinionated in the interview (a situation

### The Psychopathy Checklist: Screening Version (PCL:SV)

where most people are somewhat reticent or deferential). If they are in hospital or prison, they attribute their unfortunate circumstances to external forces (bad luck, the "system") rather than to themselves. Consequently, they are relatively concerned about their present circumstances and worry little about the future. (Note that psychotic delusions are irrelevant to the scoring of this item, unless they are accompanied by the other characteristics listed.)

#### **Item 3: Deceitful**

People with this characteristic commonly engage in lying, deception, and other manipulations in order to achieve their own personal goals (money, sex, power, etc.). They lie and deceive with self-assurance and no apparent anxiety. They may admit that they enjoy conning and deceiving others; they may even label themselves "fraud artists."

#### **Item 4: Lacks Remorse**

High scores on this item are given to individuals who appear to lack the capacity for guilt. It is normal to feel justified in having hurt someone on at least a few occasions; however, high scorers on this item appear to have no conscience whatsoever. Some of these latter individuals will verbalize remorse but in an insincere manner; others will display little emotion about their own actions or the impact they had on others and will focus instead on their own suffering. (In scoring this item, it is necessary to take the nature of the individual's harmful behaviors into account. Clearly, a lack of remorse concerning relatively trivial acts may not be pathological.)

#### **Item 5: Lacks Empathy**

This item describes individuals who have little affective bonding with others and are unable to appreciate the emotional consequences (positive or negative) of their actions. As a result, they may appear cold and callous, unable to experience strong emotions, and indifferent to the feelings of others. Alternatively, they may express their emotions, but these emotional expressions are shallow and labile. The verbal and nonverbal aspects of their emotion may appear inconsistent.

#### **Item 6: Doesn't Accept Responsibility**

People who score high on this item avoid taking personal responsibility for their harmful actions by rationalizing their behavior, greatly minimizing the consequences for others, or even denying the actions altogether. Most of their rationalizations involve the projection of blame (or at least partial blame) onto the victim or onto circumstances. Minimizations usually involve denying that the victim suffered any serious or direct physical, emotional, or financial consequences. Denial usually involves claiming innocence, that is, that the victim lied or the individual was framed; alternatively, he/she may claim amnesia due to substance use or to physical or mental illness.



**Item 7: Impulsive**

This item describes people who act without considering the consequences of their actions. They act on the spur of the moment, often as the result of a desire for risk and excitement. They may be easily bored and have a short attention span. Consequently, they lead a lifestyle characterized by instability in school, relationships, employment, and place of residence.

**Item 8: Poor Behavioral Controls**

This item describes people who are easily angered or frustrated; this may be exacerbated by the use of alcohol or drugs. They are frequently verbally abusive (e.g., they swear, insult, or make threats) and physically abusive (e.g., they break or throw things; push, slap, or punch others). The abuse may appear to be sudden and unprovoked. These angry outbursts are often short-lived.

**Item 9: Lacks Goals**

High scores on this item are given to those who do not have realistic long-term plans and commitments. Such people tend to live their lives "day-to-day," not thinking of the future. They may have relied excessively on family, friends, and social assistance for financial support. They often have poor academic and employment records. When asked about their goals for the future, they may describe far-fetched plans or schemes.

**Item 10: Irresponsible**

This item describes people who exhibit behavior that frequently causes hardship to others or puts others at risk. They tend to be unreliable as a spouse or parent; they lack commitment to relationships, fail to care adequately for their children, and so forth. Also, their job performance is inadequate; they are frequently late or absent without good reason, etc. Finally, they are untrustworthy with money; they have been in trouble for such things as defaulting on loans, not paying bills, or not paying child support.

**Item 11: Adolescent Antisocial Behavior**

People who score high on this item had serious conduct problems as an adolescent. These problems were not limited to only one setting (i.e., occurred at home, at school, and in the community) and were not simply the result of childhood abuse or neglect (e.g., running away to avoid beatings, stealing food when it wasn't available at home). Such people frequently were in trouble with the law as a youth or minor, and their antisocial activities were varied, frequent, and persistent.

**Item 12: Adult Antisocial Behavior**

This item describes people who frequently violate formal, explicit rules and regulations. They have had legal problems as an adult, including charges or convictions for criminal offenses. Their antisocial activities are varied, frequent, and persistent.

**Appendix 7:** Table of percentile ranks for PCL-SV total and factor scores.

Chapter Fc

**Figure 7**  
**Percentile Ranks — Example B**

**The HARE PCL:SV**  
 S.D. Hart, D.N. Cox, & R.D. Hare

**Percentile Ranks for PCL:SV Total and Factor Scores**

Forensic/Non Psychiatric (N = 149)				Forensic/Psychiatric (N = 120)			
Total	Percentile	Part 1	Part 2	Total	Percentile	Part 1	Part 2
24	100.0			24	100.0		
23	99.3			23	100.0		
22	98.0			22	100.0		
21	96.0			21	98.7		
20	89.9			20	91.7		
19	81.9			19	83.3		
18	75.8			18	78.3		
17	69.8			17	70.8		
16	58.4			16	62.5		
15	51.7			15	54.2		
14	38.9			14	42.5		
13	35.8			13	31.7		
12	29.5	100.0	100.0	12	29.2	100.0	100.0
11	24.8	96.0	91.9	11	20.0	98.3	95.8
10	20.1	92.6	73.8	10	15.0	93.3	83.3
9	16.1	84.6	52.3	9	10.8	83.3	65.0
8	11.4	74.5	40.3	8	5.8	72.5	45.8
7	8.1	63.1	28.9	7	1.7	60.0	30.8
6	6.7	49.7	19.5	6	0.8	48.3	22.5
5	4.7	36.2	14.1	5	0.8	30.0	10.0
4	3.4	26.2	10.1	4	0.0	17.5	4.2
3	0.7	17.4	6.7	3	0.0	10.8	0.0
2	0.0	13.4	3.4	2	0.0	3.3	0.0
1	0.0	6.7	1.3	1	0.0	0.0	0.0
0	0.0	1.3	0.7	0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Non Criminal/Non Psychiatric Undergrads (N = 100)				Civil/Psychiatric (N = 217)			
Total	Percentile	Part 1	Part 2	Total	Percentile	Part 1	Part 2
24	100.0			24	100.0		
23	100.0			23	100.0		
22	100.0			22	99.5		
21	100.0			21	98.8		
20	100.0			20	94.9		
19	100.0			19	92.2		
18	100.0			18	90.8		
17	100.0			17	88.0		
16	100.0			16	84.3		
15	100.0			15	77.4		
14	99.0			14	74.7		
13	98.0	100.0	100.0	13	70.0		
12	98.0	100.0	100.0	12	66.4	100.0	100.0
11	98.0	100.0	100.0	11	62.7	99.1	94.9
10	97.0	100.0	100.0	10	57.1	97.7	88.5
9	95.0	100.0	100.0	9	51.2	92.6	82.9
8	95.0	99.0	98.0	8	47.0	88.5	72.8
7	90.0	99.0	98.0	7	41.5	84.3	63.6
6	86.0	99.0	98.0	6	34.1	76.3	54.4
5	81.0	97.0	96.0	5	27.7	71.0	44.2
4	75.0	94.0	91.0	4	24.0	61.3	35.9
3	62.0	89.0	79.0	3	16.6	53.5	28.1
2	53.0	82.0	70.0	2	12.0	44.7	19.4
1	34.0	65.0	52.0	1	6.5	30.0	11.1
0	17.0	41.0	22.0	0	4.1	13.8	6.5

**THIS FORM MAY NOT BE COPIED**

Copyright © 1995 by Robert D. Hart under exclusive license to Multi-Health Systems Inc. All rights reserved. In the U.S.A., 908 Niagara Falls Blvd., North Tonawanda, NY 14120-2060, (800) 456-7003. In Canada, 65 Overlea Blvd., Suite 210, Toronto, ON M4H 1P1, (800) 268-6011, (416) 424-1700, fax (416) 424-1736.